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SUMMARY OF THESIS on Landholdings, Landutilisation and  
Settlement in certain isolated areas of western Scotland,  
with special reference to two areas of the West Highland  
seaboard, in the island of Islay in the Inner Hebrides,  
and the peninsula of Ardnamurchan and Sunart in northern Argy

The West Highland region of Scotland is not a uniform one. Over and above environmental variety there are differences in organisation and utilisation of land ; distribution and patterns of settlement ; and population patterns. These differences are rarely easily explained in terms of differences in physical environment. In two other main factors is the answer to these differences to be found. Degree of isolation or accessibility, and ideas of change have both affected the ways in which differences in landholdings, landutilisation and settlement have occurred in small local areas of the West Highland Region, and of the Atlantic End of Europe as a whole. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the organisation of landholdings and the pattern of settlement was practically the same throughout the West Highland region, and was similar to that occurring in the Lowlands. During that century and thereafter, this ubiquitous pattern showed signs of change, either gradually by evolution, or suddenly by revolution. Which of these two processes affected any particular area is frequently seen to be related to degree of isolation from or accessibility to, the source of ideas of change.

In the case of the West Highland seaboard of Scotland, the main source of change following the introduction of the Agricultural Revolution from England, was in the Lowlands. Those parts of the seaboard in greatest proximity to the Lowlands in the eighteenth century ( both for the introduction of new ideas as well as the export of an overabundant population ) were usually characterised more by evolutionary than revolutionary changes in landholdings and settlement, although elements of the second were frequently visible. In remoter areas however, the ideas of the Agricultural Revolution did not arrive until later, often after the beginning of the nineteenth century. By then, population had increased far beyond the sole capabilities of the land to maintain it even at subsistence level. Resort had to be made to subsidiary sources of income. When these failed, the problem of land



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overpopulation was so acute that drastic measures to introduce the ideas of the Agricultural Revolution had suddenly to be enforced. This resulted in the revolutionary process of change whereby considerable numbers of people were removed from their landholdings to form large single farms, whilst other holdings were remodelled on the planned and grid-iron patterns of allotted crofting townships of very small holdings. Accompanying changes took place in the settlement distribution. The former ubiquitous clusters of settlement gave way to a more dispersed pattern.

At the present day those areas which suffered this revolution are especially those which comprise part of the Crofting or Highland Provinces of Scotland. Difficulties of access, general poverty of environment, uneconomic organisation and utilisation of the land, and problems arising from population patterns, are characteristics. But the degree of severity of the problem varies from one part of the region to another, though it is generally most serious along the western seaboard of the Highlands and in the Hebrides. Even there however there are differences partly due to environment but more often due to isolational and historical factors which have affected the effectiveness of land organisation, utilisation, and settlement and population patterns today. The aim of this thesis is to study the ways in which differing degrees of isolation at different times, have affected the evolution or revolution of these patterns from the old order of the eighteenth century to the divergent ones of today in two areas of at first apparently similar isolation on the west Highland seaboard.

The two areas are the island of Islay in the southern Inner Hebrides off the coast of mainland Argyll, and the peninsula of Ardnamurchan and Sunart in northern Argyll. The island of Islay is unique in the West Highland seaboard at the present day in terms of agricultural organisation, industry, settlement and population patterns. A varied agricultural infrastructure of small, medium and large sized farms, and a few small holdings together with industrial villages, provide opportunities for the advancement of the individual. By contrast, the mainland peninsula of Ardnamurchan and Sunart is the first region of the Highlands which is characteristically crofting, with extremes of sizes and organisation of holdings from the large grazing farms to the small lots and crofts of crofting townships. There is little non-agricultural settlement or opportunity. The divergent ways in which these changed and their results on the landscape and economy of the

areas today, as parts of the whole west Highland seaboard, form the main part of this thesis. In fact, insularity has been less a disadvantageous factor than peninsularity in the development of present-day patterns.

The contrasting landscapes and problems of the two areas today pose many questions as to the reasons ~~why~~ for the divergences and differences. Some of the answers are to be found in the landscapes themselves. But further answers or corroboration come to light when a study is made of other sources, both published and unpublished. This thesis on the changing pattern of landholdings, landutilisation and settlement, with their consequences today, is the result of a study of these three main sources, (i) fieldwork (ii) published work, and (iii) discovery and examination of hitherto unutilised and unpublished materials relating to the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the two areas. The nature of the study has been such that the first and third sources have proved of greater importance and interest. Fieldwork on the island in 1956, 1958 and 1960 ; and in the peninsula in 1958, 1959 and 1960, was considerably enhanced by the discovery in 1958 of much <sup>hitherto unutilised</sup> private estate material relating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in both Islay and Ardnamurchan-Sunart. It is on the basis of this fieldwork, and the methods evolved for the examination and collation of the unpublished private estate material that the greater part of this thesis rests, and on which its value as a contribution to the recent historical geography of Scotland as well as to the methodology in historical geography, relies. Published sources have generally been restricted to the relative position of these two areas in the west Highland seaboard and Scotland as a whole, past and present.

Landholdings, Land Utilisation and Settlement  
in certain isolated areas of Western Scotland,

with special reference to two areas of the West Highland  
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mainland Argyll.

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by

Margaret C. Storrie, B.Sc.

February, 1962.

## PREFACE and ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer's interest in isolated parts of the western seaboard of Highland Scotland was increased in 1956 during an undergraduate field study in the island of Islay. In 1958 the discovery of a hitherto unutilised and relatively large amount of private estate material relating especially to the nineteenth century in the island of Islay; and similar material pertaining to the peninsula of Ardnamurchan and Sunart made possible the detailed study of landholdings, land utilisation, and to some extent settlement in the two areas. Recourse to the unpublished enumeration schedules of the Census of Scotland from 1841 onwards helped to fill in various aspects of the settlement and population patterns. The remainder of the work embodied in this thesis is the result of fieldwork in Islay from 1956 to 1960; in Ardnamurchan and Sunart from 1958 to 1960; and in various other parts of the West Highland seaboard from 1956 onwards, especially in connection with the Crofting Survey of the Department of Geography in the University of Glasgow directed by Mr. H.A. Moisley and Dr. J.B. Caird.

Post-graduate study has been pursued in the Department of Geography in the University of Glasgow under Professor Ronald Miller, and in the Department of Geography, Bedford College, University of London, under Professor Gordon Manley. The writer wishes to express her gratitude to colleagues in both departments for their help and forbearance. She is indebted to the University of Glasgow and to Bedford College for financial assistance in this study.

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Acknowledgment is made to The Geographical Review for permission to include the published paper in Appendix 1, and to Scottish Studies for the paper in Appendix 2.

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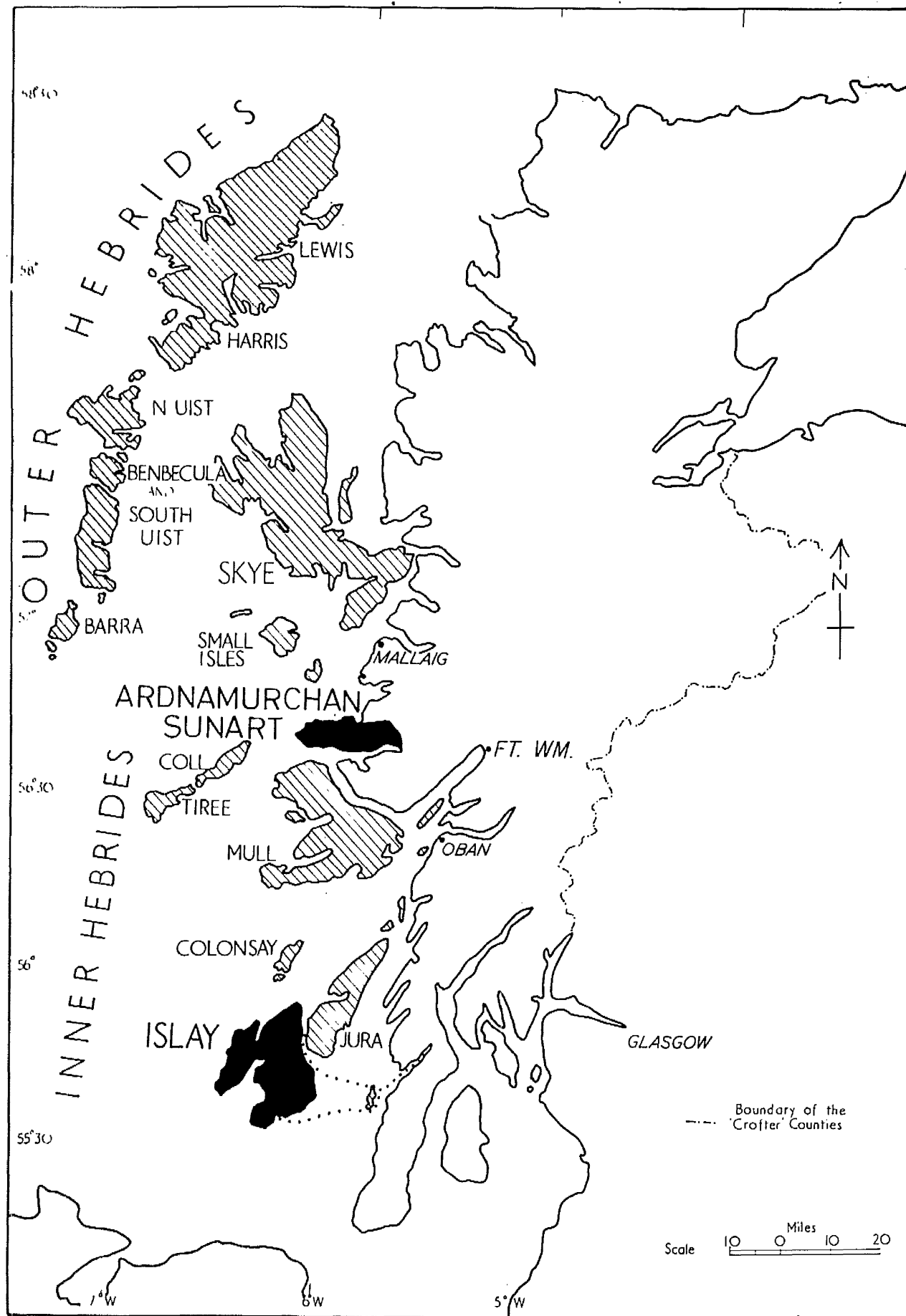


Figure 1. The location of Islay and Ardnamurchan-Sunart in relation to the rest of the West Highland seaboard of Scotland.

## INTRODUCTION

The western seaboard of Highland Scotland is not a uniform one, though there are certain features such as difficulties of climate and communication which are common to nearly all parts of the area. Over and above these, however, there are differences in organisation and utilisation of land; distribution and pattern of settlement; and of population patterns. These differences are rarely explained solely in terms of differences in physical environment. Degree of isolation or accessibility to ideas of change has affected the ways in which differences in landholdings, land utilisation and settlement have occurred in small local areas of the West Highland region, as of the Atlantic Ends of Europe as a whole. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the organisation of landholdings and the pattern of settlement was practically the same throughout the region. It was similar to that found earlier in the Lowlands, and in Ireland. During and since the eighteenth century this ubiquitous pattern has changed either gradually, by evolution, or suddenly, by revolution. Which of these two processes affected any particular area is frequently seen to be related to the degree of isolation from or accessibility to the source of ideas of change.

In the case of the west Highland seaboard, the main source of change, following the introduction of the Agricultural Revolution from England, was in the Lowlands. Those parts of the seaboard in greatest proximity to the Lowlands for the introduction of the new ideas, as well as for the export of an over-abundant population, were usually characterised more by evolutionary than revolutionary changes in landholdings and settlement. Changes took place over a fairly prolonged time from the early eighteenth century onwards. In remoter regions however the ideas of the Agricultural Revolution, separation of agricultural and industrial occupations, and enclosure and consolidation of individuals' holdings, did not arrive until later, often after the start of the nineteenth century. By then, population had increased far beyond the sole capabilities of the land to maintain it, even at subsistence level. Resort had to be made to subsidiary sources - fishing and kelp-manufacture - and when these failed the problem of land-overpopulation was so acute that drastic measures to introduce the ideas of the Agricultural Revolution had suddenly to be enforced. This resulted in the revolutionary process of change whereby considerable numbers of people were removed from their landholdings to make way for large farms. Alternatively, landholdings were remodelled on the planned grid-iron patterns of crofting townships of very small holdings. The former ubiquitous clusters of settlement gave way to a more dispersed pattern.

Today these areas which suffered this revolution are essentially those which

comprise part of the Crofting or Highland Problem of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. Difficulties of access, general poverty of environment, uneconomic organisation and utilisation of land, and problems arising from unusual population patterns, are characteristics. The degree of severity of the Problem varies from one part of the region to another, though it is generally most serious along the western seaboard of the Highlands and in the Hebrides. Even within this area, however, there are differences. These are in part due to isolational and historical factors which have affected the present land organisation, land utilisation, population and settlement patterns, which in turn affect the severity of the Problem. The aim of this thesis is to study the ways in which degrees of isolation or accessibility have effected the evolution or revolution of the landholdings, land utilisation, settlement and population patterns, and consequently the incidence of the Highland Problem, in two areas of apparently similar physical isolation on the western seaboard of Highland Scotland. The two areas are the island of Islay in the southern Inner Hebrides off the coast of Argyll, and the peninsula of Ardnamurchan-Sunart in northern mainland Argyll. Their location in relation to the seaboard as a whole is illustrated in figure 1.

The island of Islay is unique in the West Highland region today<sup>1</sup> in terms of agricultural and industrial organisation. The landscape and economy are more 'Lowland' than 'Highland' in character, though traces of the latter are to be found. Islay in the twentieth century does not share the crofting system, and instead has a varied agricultural infra-structure of small, medium and large sized farms, as well as groups of smallholdings. By Highland standards, there is substantial industrial development in the nine whisky distilling villages. This pattern is different from most of the rest of the region, and even from the adjacent Kintyre mainland. By contrast the peninsula of Ardnamurchan-Sunart is the first mainland region of the Highlands which is more characteristic of the crofting areas. The late arrival of the Agricultural Revolution resulted in extremes of size of agricultural holdings, from large grazing farms to small crofting townships and little non-agricultural settlement or opportunity. The divergent ways in which these changed, and the results of these on the landscape and economy of the two areas today, as parts of the whole west Highland seaboard, form the main part of this thesis. In fact insularity has been a less disadvantageous factor than peninsularity in the development of present-day patterns.

Isolation can be regarded in a purely physical sense as a relative measure of accessibility or inaccessibility between populated areas, and varies in time and degree according to technological advancement. Likewise poverty or richness of

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1. See Storrie, M.C. "Islay: A Hebridean Exception" Geog.Rev. 1961 Vol.II No.1 p.87. Appendix 1.

natural resources and their utilisation have different values at different periods. But more important from the point of view of the geographer interested in the Highland region and its problems, is the fact that isolation from Lowland centres and ideas affects the period of time and speed during which innovation and change can take place. The different results of this are to be seen in the present-day divergent patterns of landholdings, land utilisation, population and settlement in the island and in the peninsula.

Land utilisation from the geographer's point of view and from that of the rural economist as opposed, say, to that of the agriculturalist, consists of more than a study of field crops and acreages, which are essentially additive facts. More important are those facets of land utilisation which until about the last decade were little explored by geographers studying land use patterns in Scotland. These are the patterns of landholdings and their fields, the methods of tenure, and the manner in which these evolved. Together, these provide an infra-structure on which the agriculture and use of the land at the present day depend. Likewise the more geographically significant aspects of settlement are not so much those of the archaeologist, interested in the site and morphology of the individual buildings, or of the sociologist studying varied aspects of population. Rather they concern changes in the distribution and size of settlements and population groupings, in relation to resources and methods of their utilisation.

A study of the more gradual evolution of the relatively satisfactory 'Lowland' structure of landholdings and population in Islay, alongside that of the more typically Highland peninsula of Ardnamurchan and Sunart, with today's unsatisfactory system of landholdings and population structures, may serve to indicate ways in which some of the causes underlying the Highland Problem may be removed or at least alleviated in these parts in which it is most severe<sup>1</sup>. The present day policies of the several official bodies interested in the alleviation of this problem are now seen to be trending more and more towards the nineteenth century solution adopted and practised by the landlords in Islay. Fundamentally embodying the ideas of the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions, this solution attempted by the landlords was two-fold. One aim was the separation of agriculture from industry, both in settlement and in specialisation of occupation. The other was the reduction in numbers of landholders, accompanied by reorganisation and enclosure of individual holdings of varied size, to enable the advancement of the individual. Over much of the western Highland seaboard, the Agricultural Revolution arrived too

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1. In the peninsula the problem is not so acute as in many other parts of the region, as for example the Outer Hebrides, where the crofting form of land occupation and tenure is far more characteristic.

late, when population had increased excessively. Neither of the above two aims could be carried out so easily or completely and a much more rigid system of small-holdings, without individual freedom, became established quite suddenly. One possible exception is perhaps to be found in the lands of the Duke of Argyll in mainland Kintyre, but even there the establishment of industry proved ephemeral and is negligible today.

Along the western Highland seaboard today there are varying amounts of evidence showing the change from the ubiquitous eighteenth century order of large tacks<sup>1</sup>, joint farms and clustered settlement, to the newer order of single farms of varying sizes, crofting townships and the mainly dispersed settlement noted by Meitzen. The degree of effectiveness of this change and the results on the landscape and economy of the present, have essentially been due to the degree of isolation from, or accessibility to, ideas of change, resulting from the landlord's experience, knowledge and attitude of mind and less to physical environment. Land-forms, soils and climate, in this context, are subsidiary to the human and isolational factors and are nowhere in this thesis specifically discussed at length. Instead their effects on the distributions and limitations of evolutionary changes in land organisation due to cultural, social and human factors are noted. The physical limitations imposed on land organisation and its use, and the distribution and siting of settlements are discussed.

The contrasting landscapes of the two areas today, with varying amounts of pre-Agricultural Revolution traces, pose many questions as to why they should be different. Some of the answers are to be found in the landscapes themselves. Or some clue to past changes may be indicated there. But further answers or corroboration come to light when a study is made of other sources, both published and unpublished. This thesis on the changing patterns of landholdings, land utilisation and settlement in these two selected areas of the west Highland seaboard of Scotland is the result of a study of three main sources: (i) fieldwork, (ii) examination of published work, and (iii) discovery and examination of hitherto unutilised and unpublished materials relating to the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the two areas. The nature of the study has been such that the first and third sources have proved of greater importance and interest in most aspects of the examination of the growth and remedies of the Highland Problem in these two areas, both past and present. Fieldwork on the island in 1956, 1958 and 1960; and in the peninsula in 1958, 1959 and 1960 was considerably enhanced by the discovery in 1958 of much private estate material relating to the eighteenth and nineteenth

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1. A tack was a large area of land often comprising several farms leased by the landlord, perhaps to his kinsmen.

centuries in both Islay and Ardnamurchan-Sunart. It is on the basis of this fieldwork and the methods evolved for the examination of the unpublished private estate material that the greater part of this thesis rests, and on which its value as a contribution to the recent historical geography of Scotland as well as to the methodology in historical geography itself, relies. Reference to published sources has generally been restricted to a study of the relative position of these two areas in the west Highland seaboard and in Scotland as a whole. Recent work carried out by research workers<sup>1</sup> on the west Highland seaboard has frequently been consulted in this latter context.

In this thesis a deliberate attempt has been made to illustrate the changing patterns of landholdings, land utilisation, settlement and population in the two selected areas by the considerable deployment of figures containing various types of annotated maps and diagrams. Without constant reference to these illustrative figures the text may sometimes appear rather bald. The illustrations and text are complementary in the context of this thesis on development of visible patterns in the landscape.

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1. For details, see Sources G and H under Caird, J.B.; Gailley, R.A.; Gray, M.; MacSween, M.D.; Moisleley, H.A. et al.

I. PRE-AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION LANDHOLDINGS AND SETTLEMENT.

Chapter 1. LANDHOLDINGS, LANDHOLDERS AND SETTLEMENT IN ISLAY IN THE FIRST THREE-QUARTERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

As over much of the west Highland seaboard at the time, and as throughout the rest of Scotland up to the seventeenth century, landholdings in Islay in the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century consisted of two elements: the tacks or large areas of land perhaps comprising several farms leased to single tenants or tacksmen and worked by subtenants and cottars living in clachans or clustered settlements; and the joint farms worked by tenants and/or sub-tenants living in clachans. Tacks and joint farms were reckoned for rent purposes by value of land, not area. Various land denomination terms indicating certain values of rent due for varying extents of land were in use at different periods. From the time of the Irish colonisation in the sixth century until the end of Norse rule in the Isles in 1263, the land denominations in Islay were the davoch valued at 10 marks, and the quarter at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  marks<sup>1</sup>. After 1263 an Old Extent was imposed, replacing the older denominations by poundlands, marklands, tenshilling lands and cowlands. However with the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles to the Scottish Crown in 1493, yet another system of land valuation was attempted. The bailie of Islay, McIan of Ardnamurchan, was ordered by the Crown Commissioners to bring the island into line with the national system of quarterlands valued at 33/4d Scots. In fact this was only partially

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1. According to Lamont (Scot.Stud. 1957, vol.1, p.184) "Islay is regarded as a curious example of a locality in which the old Celtic denominations of davochs, which normally became tirunga under Norse occupation elsewhere in the Hebrides, were apparently unaffected in Islay by Norse occupation, despite ample evidence in other respects such as place-names".

accomplished in the island of Islay, and the local system of land denominations belonging to the Old Extent continued side by side with the newer McIan one until the end of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. In 1811 according to Macdonald<sup>1</sup> the land denominations found in the rentals of Islay comprised remnants of the Old Extent, as well as two variants of the McIan Valuation. The Old Extent tenshilling lands had, by the early nineteenth century, become 10' lands (called Ten Penny Lands), and multiples of 10' lands, using the index comma to indicate sterling pence instead of Scots shillings. More common were the denominations resulting from the McIan Valuation. These were the quarter at 33/4d ; the aughtenpart or octobh or eighth at 16/8d ; the leorthas at 8/4d ; the cotaban at 4/2d ; the das-ghillin or two-penny land<sup>2</sup> at 2/1d. If the subdivisions of the quarterland were added up, omitting the odd pence, the quarter became 32/-, the eighth 16/- and so on, and these in turn became the 32', 16', 8', 4' and 2' or False McIan Extent, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century rentals, with the index comma again signifying sterling pence instead of Scots shillings. So the rentals of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century which survive are characterised by landholdings reckoned by value under the denominations of

1. The Old Extent	10'	20'	30' lands	(sterling pence)		
2. The McIan Extent	Quarter 33/4	Eighth 16/8	Leorthas 8/4	Cotaban 4/2	Das-ghillin 2/1	(Scots shgs.)
3. False McIan Extent	32'	16'	8'	4'	2'	(sterling pence)

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1. Macdonald, J. General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides or Western Isles of Scotland, pp.624 and 625.
  2. The pennylands in the eighteenth and nineteenth century rentals in Islay have no connection with the pennylands derived from Norse occupation, and have had no influence on place-names. The name pennyland was not used in Islay before the eighteenth century and was only the result of the change-over from Scots shillings to sterling pence.



## VI.—RENTAL OF THE PARISHES OF THE ISLAND.

The first page is divided into seven Columns.

The 1<sup>st</sup> Column denotes the extent of the lands of every toun by marke lands and pound lands, conforme to the Cess rolls and common computation in the kingdom.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Column—the names of the touns and extent thereof by quarter lands, aughten parts, leorheis, and kerrorans and cowlands, conform to Isla computation, and also the whole presents payable out of the same.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Column gives the silver rent and teind silver and the prices of the hail presents as the samine is uplifted yearlie.

The 4<sup>th</sup> Column gives the soume or number of cows each toun is commonly allowed to grase yearlie: and it is to be remembered that they are allowed also with the cows to have the product thereof yearly, such as thair two year old stirks and calfs with the cows.

It is also to be remembered that with each cow there are two sheep with thair year olds and lambs to be grassed. As for extent ther, a toun is allowed to have fourtie cows: they are also there allowed to have eightie sheep with there product.

The 5<sup>th</sup> Column gives the number of horses or mares each toun is to keep or grase, and that with thair product also of two year olds and foals.

The 6<sup>th</sup> Column gives the number of bolls of corn, great or small, each toun sowes yearly for ordinar: yett some times they sow in most touns more than is got down as convenience and improvement can allow these inhabitants.

The 7<sup>th</sup> Column gives the number of bolls of barlie sown in each toun yearlie: yet in most touns they sow more as convenience and improvement can allow the inhabitants.

It is to be remembered the inhabitants sows yearlie pees, ry, pottatoes, as the think fit, or thair convenience can allow them.

The second page (*here printed as the 8th Column*) gives an accouynt of every thing remarkable, and if there be any down-fall of rent, with many other things.

Extent.	Names of Towns.	Rent.	Grasing.		Sowing.		REMARKS.
			Cows.	Hors.	Corn.	Barley	
KILDALTAN PARROCH.							
0 16 8	Proaige, one aughten part, ..	£ 100 0 0	80	8	20	4	Proaige is a town very beneficial for pasturage, good for fattning and nurishing cattle.
	Wedders, 2; sheep, 1; lambs, 1,	3 6 8					
	Butter, two quarts,	2 0 0					
	Gooss, 2; hens, 2; eggs, 2 doz.,	1 2 0					
	Stots, half multer, 1 boll,	12 0 0					
1 13 4	Ardtello, a quarter land, pays ..	133 6 8	80	16	48	6	Ardtello is very good for pasturage and fattning and for grain.
	Wedders, 1; sheep, 2; lambs, 2,	3 13 4					
	Butter, one gallon,	4 0 0					
	Gooss, 4; hens, 4; eggs, 4 doz.,	2 4 0					
	Stots, one multer, bear and meal,						
	2 bolls,	12 0 0					
0 16 8	Clagincarrach, ane aughten part,						Clagincarrach a very good town for pasturage and fattning [and] gendering of cattle.
	pays	77 6 8	60	16	24	4	
	Wedders, 2; sheep, 1; lambs, 1,	3 6 8					
	Butter, 2 quarts,	2 0 0					
	Gooss, 2; hens, 2; eggs, 2 doz.,	1 2 0					
	Stots, half multer, bear and meal,						
	1 boll,	12 0 0					

3 U

Figure 2. Extract from the Rental Of Islay for 1722.

(Smith, G.G. The Book of Islay, p.521.)

It was not until land surveyors were employed by Highland landlords to measure estates at varying times from the eighteenth century onwards, that landholding became valued for rental purposes by area.

The extents and values for rental and tax purposes in early eighteenth century Islay are shown in the extract in figure 2 from the rental of 1722<sup>1</sup>. For each town or land, the soum or grazing capacity, and the bolls of sown grain are also given, with remarks on the nature of each of the holdings as to suitability for cropping or grazing. A few of the soum and sowing figures are omitted for some of the towns in the Rhinns or Kilchoman parish, including the large tacks of Sunderland, Foreland, Cladavill, Ballinaby, Kilnave and Leackgruinard, but the figures are more nearly complete for the other parishes. By taking a ratio of stock (converted to cow units) to crops sown, there appear, even at this time, considerable regional differences in the nature and capability of the island. These are illustrated in figure 3. The remoter and hillier portions of the island in the north-east and south-east have ratios considerably higher than 1.5, indicating preponderance of grazing. Geographically adjacent to those are the areas with ratios between unity and 1.49, which usually have more land capable of producing crops for human and animal consumption. Ratios less than unity, indicating greater importance of grain cultivation than of grazing, were only to be found on the holdings on the lower ground of larger river valleys, especially at the western end of the midland valley, and on the better drained parts of the raised beaches around Loch Indaal. The remarks on the nature of the townland consist of phrases indicating the agricultural worth of the townland, such as "Nerabolls, a good tenement; Cultune a good wadset;

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1. Smith, G.G. The Book of Islay, p.521.

1722

RATIO OF STOCK TO CROPS

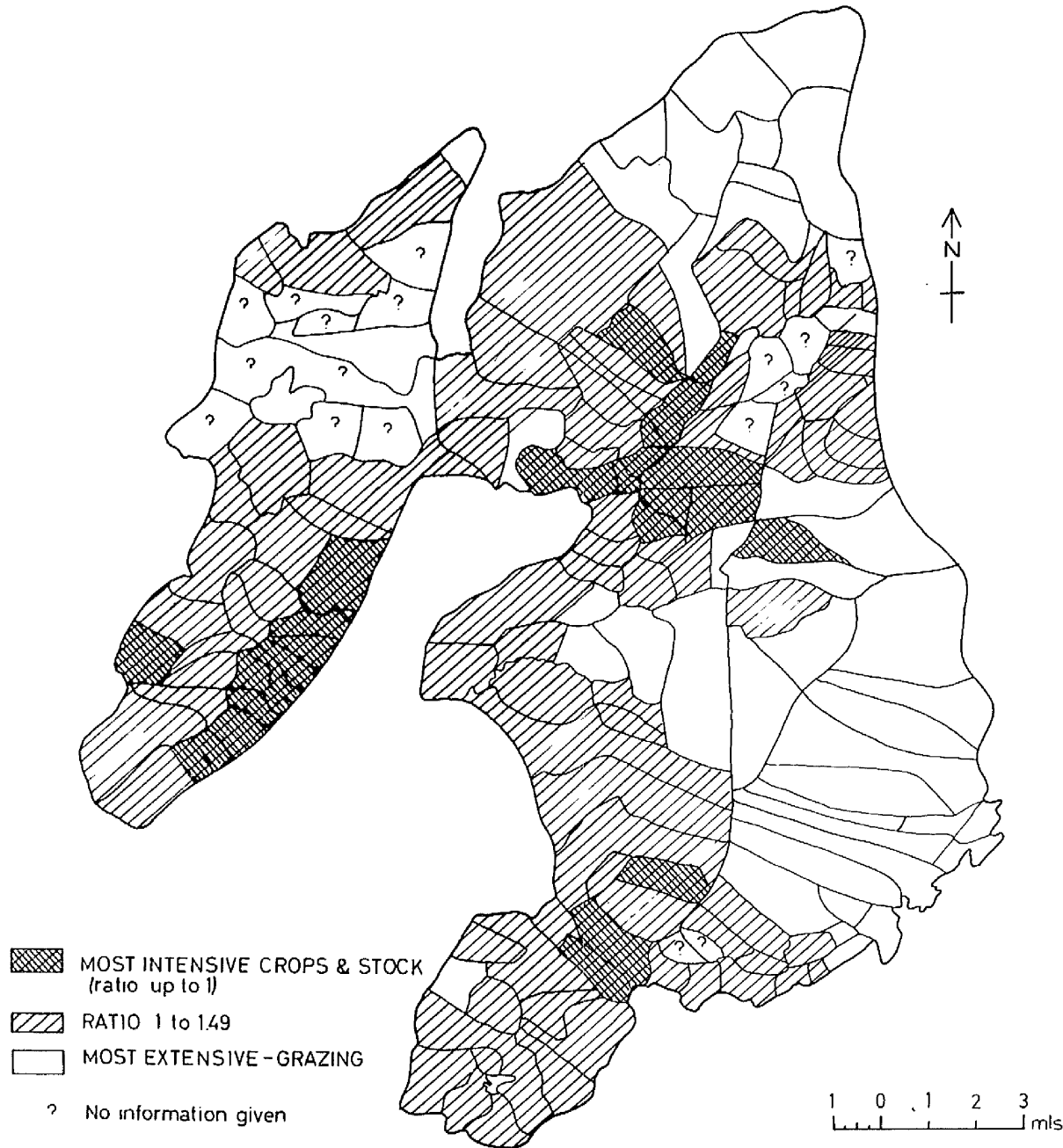


Figure 3. Ratio of stock to crops for each holding in Islay in 1722 for which information was available.

(Smith, C.C. The Book of Islay, op.cit.)

1733

Shaded holdings have more than two tenants

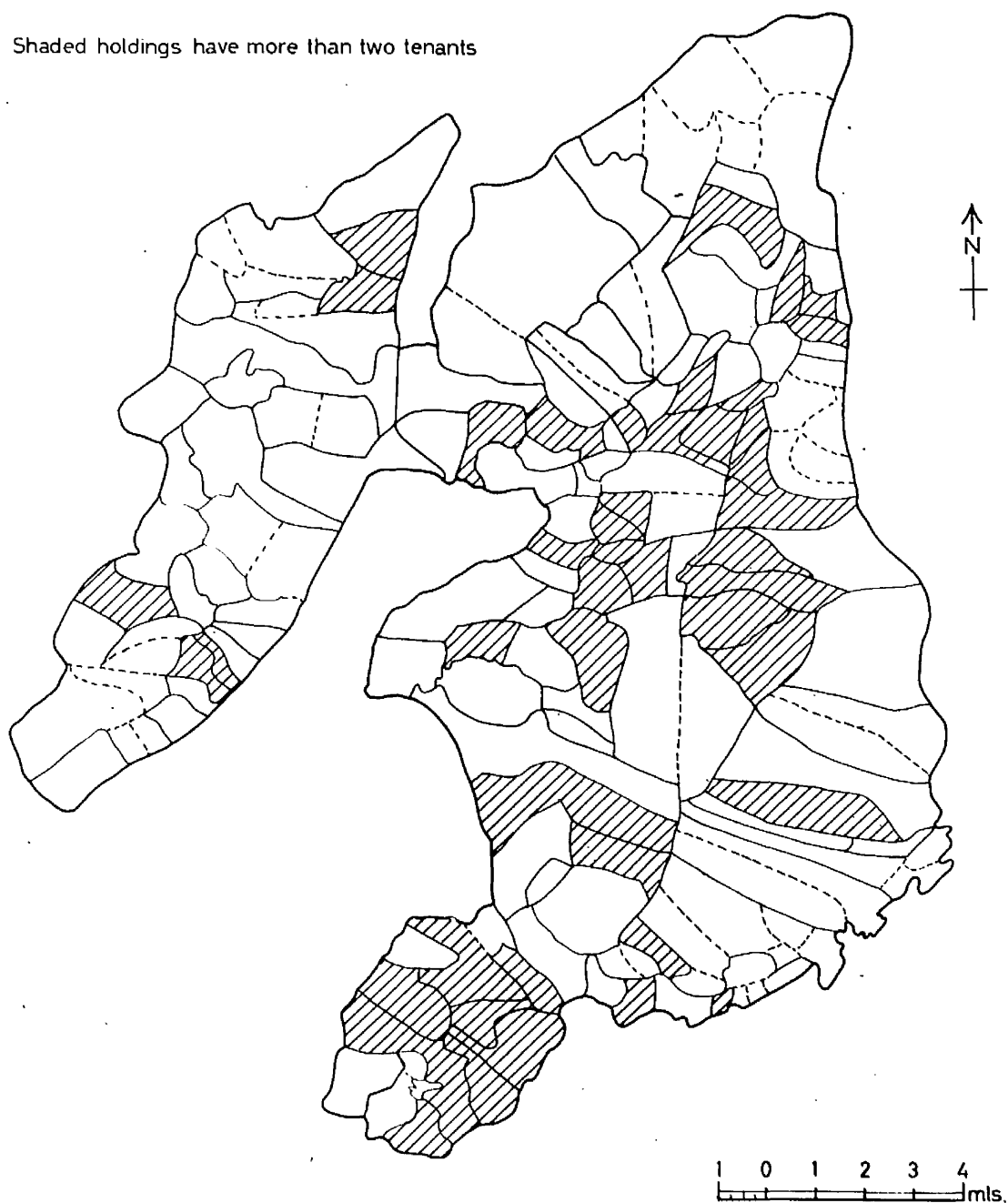


Figure 4. Single and multiple tenancies in Islay in 1733.  
(Smith, G.G. The Book of Islay, p.545 et seq.)

# VII.—RENTAL OF THE PARISHES OF THE ISLAND.

RENT ROLL OF THE PARISH OF KILDALTAN IN ISLA, COMMENCING AT WHITSUNDAY, 1733.

Extent.	Names of the Lands.	Possessors' Names.	Old Rent, Scotch.	Grossum, Sterling.	Slotts at 20 Mks.	New Rent, Scotch.	New Rent, Sterling.
18 p <sup>t</sup> land	Proag, . . .	Charles McAlister of Tarbert,	123 2 0	10 0 0	$\frac{1}{2}$	135 2 0	11 5 2
1 q <sup>r</sup> „	Ardtalla, . .	Malcom McNeil of Tarbert, .	167 10 8	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	185 10 8	15 9 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 leor-hace	Surnage, Barr, and Craguagore, . .	„ „ „	53 11 2	23 0 0	$\frac{1}{2}$	70 11 2	5 17 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
18 p <sup>t</sup> land	Clagnagaroch,	Donald and Hugh Carmichail, each a horse-gang and John Carmichael and Finlay McPhadan a horse-gang, .	97 15 4	10 10 0	$\frac{1}{2}$	118 15 4	9 17 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
18 p <sup>t</sup> „	Trudernish, .	John and Dougald McVourish,	76 8 8	17 0 0	$\frac{1}{2}$	103 8 8	8 12 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
18 p <sup>t</sup> „	Craigfin, . .	Neil Campbell 6', Archibald and Dugald McKenzie 4', Margaret Brown 2', Duncan Carmichael 4', . . .	89 15 4	10 0 0	$\frac{1}{2}$	110 15 4	9 4 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 l	Stoin, . . .	Baillie Coll McAlister, . . .	36 4 4	5 0 0	$\frac{1}{2}$	42 4 4	3 10 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
3 l	Arras & Keantour, . .	Marion Thomson and Archibald Campbell 4', James and George Campbell 6', Patrick McMillan 4', John Campbell 4', Angus McNivin 3', and James Stewart, millar, 3', . . .	139 6 4	10 10 0	$\frac{1}{2}$	160 6 4	13 7 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Miln of Keantour, . .	James Stewart, . . .	29 13 4	6 0 0	...	59 13 4	4 19 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Changehouse of Keantour, .	James McIlchonel, with a bolle sowing and two cows grass, .	...	...	...	18 0 0	1 10 0
18 p <sup>t</sup>	Ardmainoch, . .	Alex <sup>r</sup> Campbell in Ardmore, .	121 15 4	12 0 0	$\frac{1}{2}$	149 10 4	12 9 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
18 p <sup>t</sup>	Ardmore, . .	„ „ „	149 15 4	15 15 0	$\frac{1}{2}$	176 15 4	14 14 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
18 p <sup>t</sup>	Kildaltan, . .	„ „ „	117 15 4	15 15 0	$\frac{1}{2}$	144 15 4	12 1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 q <sup>r</sup> 18 p <sup>t</sup>	Knock and Ardelister, . .	Neil Oig McNeil, . . .	265 10 8	30 0 0	1	313 10 8	26 2 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
18 p <sup>t</sup>	Ardimissy, . .	Arch <sup>d</sup> Campbell, chamberlain, .	167 10 8	...	1	185 10 8	15 9 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
18 p <sup>t</sup>	Ardnabist, . .	„ „ „	107 0 0	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	131 0 0	10 18 4
18 p <sup>t</sup>	Ballynachtanmore, . .	„ „ „	101 15 4	46 15 0	$\frac{1}{2}$	117 15 4	9 16 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
$\frac{1}{2}$ mk.	$\frac{1}{2}$ of Soalam, . .	„ „ „	44 0 0	...	...	55 0 0	4 11 8
4 <sup>t</sup>	4 <sup>t</sup> of Largybrecht, . .	„ „ „	10 0 0	...	...	13 0 0	1 1 8
$\frac{1}{2}$ mk.	$\frac{1}{2}$ of Soalam, . .	Donald Campbell, . . .	44 0 0	...	...	55 1 10	4 11 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
2 <sup>t</sup>	2 <sup>t</sup> of Largybrecht, . .	„ „ „	5 0 0	5 8 0	...	6 18 2	0 11 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
2 <sup>t</sup>	2 <sup>t</sup> of Largybrecht, . .	John Campbell, son of Archibald Campbell, . . .	5 0 0	0 12 0	...	6 18 2	0 11 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
18 p <sup>t</sup>	Kilcolmkill, . .	John Campbell, . . .	110 8 0	10 10 0	$\frac{1}{2}$	113 8 8	9 9 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 l	$\frac{1}{2}$ Largybrecht, . .	„ „ „	20 0 0	...	...	26 0 0	2 3 4

3 z

Figure 5. Extract from the Rental of Islay for 1733.  
(Smith, G.G. The Book of Islay, p.545.)

Cragabols, corn good; Balleveicar, crops cattle and sheep; Claggincarrach rearing and fatten cattle; Terradill, shieling in moor" etc. Though sheep were not mentioned specifically in the soun, just as today in the Outer Hebrides and other crofting areas, so then, a certain number of sheep could be substituted in the soun for one cow. In this rental of 1722 however, sheep are only specifically mentioned twice, and were at this time certainly far less important than cattle for rearing and export, though being used locally in the town for mutton and wool. One further comment worthy of note in this rental is "Kilchoman town has many parks and enclosures wherein was the choice mansion house of Campbell of Calder."

But unfortunately with respect to landholders, the 1722 rental does not indicate whether the lands are held in tack by one tacksmen, or as joint farms held in common by several tenants. That of 1733<sup>1</sup> is more interesting in this respect, though in this latter rental, the other information regarding stocking and sowing is lacking, as well as remarks on the nature of the holdings. A comparison between figure 3 showing the ratios of stock to crops in 1722, and figure 4 showing the lands held by tacksmen and by joint tenants in 1733 is seen to indicate the broad correlation between the large grazing holdings held by tacksmen, mainly in the north-eastern and south-eastern hill masses and in the Rhinns peninsula, and the mixed and grain holdings tenanted by the joint farmers in the more accessible and more fertile areas of the river valleys and well-drained raised beaches. This 1733 rental, of which extract is shown in figure 5, retains a few remnants of the old Extent land system of marklands and Ten Shilling lands but the majority of the holdings are reckoned for rent under the newer McIan system of quarter

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1. Smith, G.G. Op. cit., p.545.

lands, eighths etc. This is the first eighteenth century rental to show which towns are held by tacksmen and which by joint tenants.

For a tacksmen, the entry reads, for example,

18 pt	(auchtenpart or one-eighth)	Ardmainoch	}	Alexander Campbell
		Ardmore		
or:		Kildalton		
18 pt		Ardimissy	}	Archibald Campbell Chamberlain
18 pt		Ardnabist		
18 pt		Ballynachannmore		
18 pt		Ballynachanbeg	}	
$\frac{1}{2}$ mk		$\frac{1}{2}$ Solan		
4'		4' Largybrecht		

Thus each tack may consist of several recognised groupings or towns of land perhaps worked by subtenants not mentioned in the rental, or alternatively by workers.

On the other hand holdings held directly by named joint tenants are illustrated by the following extracts:

18 pt	Clagnagaroch	1 tenant with 1 horsegang
		1.....
		2.....1.....
OR 1q	Cragabolls	6 horsegangs
OR 20'	Kilbryde	1 tenant renting 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ ' worth of land (in pence sterling or shillings Scots).
		1..... 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
		1..... 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
		2..... 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
OR 1q	Stremnishmore	1 tenant renting 6' worth of land
		1.....6'
		1.....4'
		1.....4'
		1.....4'
		1.....4'
		1.....2'
		1.....2'

Amongst the joint farms, proportions of rent due or share in scum and arable land varies. Very rarely even in 1733 is a holding's rent due in equal shares. Keppolismore with eight tenants each holding a 6' worth of land is rather the exception than the rule. Moreover these shares may disguise subtenants or divisions of the 6' lands. More characteristic is the holding with some tenants due larger amounts than others, and some sharing a stated amount, as in the case of Ballychatrian where -

two tenants share an 8' worth of land

two tenants share an 4' worth of land, and

five tenants each rent a 4' worth of land.

The rent is therefore payable jointly by nine tenants, some of whom may have in turn obtained part of their rent from sub-tenants, to the total tune of 32' sterling or 33/4d. Scots.

The form of the 1741 rental<sup>1</sup> is much the same as that for 1733. Some of the tacks now occur as joint farms under small tenants e.g. Killeen, whilst some of the joint farms come under one tacksmen's name, e.g. Machrie. This emphasises the fact that many more farmers existed than the rentals show. In other cases the proportions of joint responsibility for rent have altered, but over all, this rental shows similar features to that of 1733.

Two further sources of information remain for the period up to the middle of the eighteenth century. One is the 1751 Valuation Roll for the Shire of Argyll showing rental in Scots Pounds and Sterling Pounds for the

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1. Smith, G.G. Op. cit., p.554.



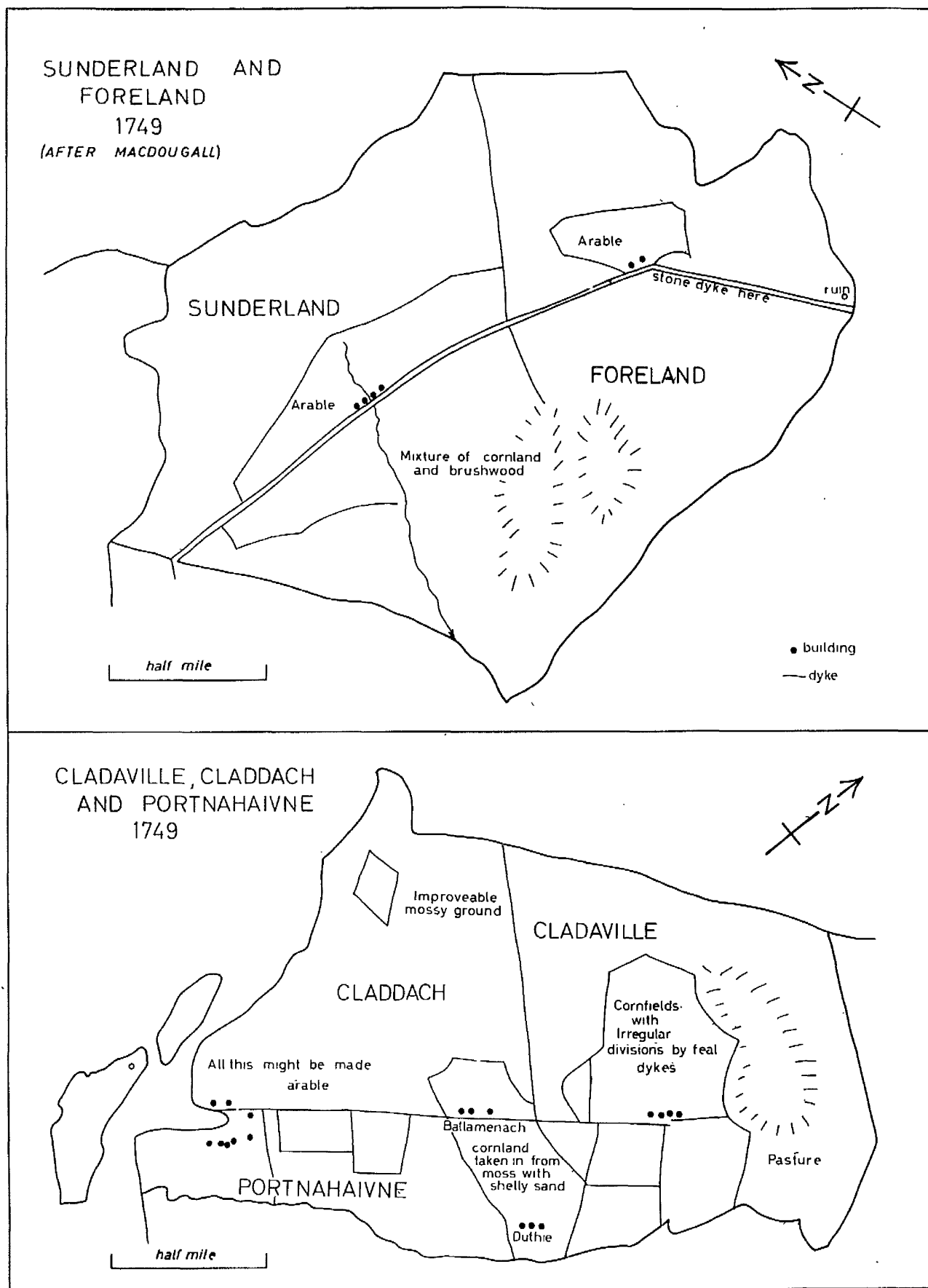


Figure 6. Redrawings of Stephen MacDougall's maps of 1749.

- 6a. The tacks of Sunderland and Foreland with their enclosures.
- 6b. The improved and improveable land on the tacks of Claddach, Portnahaiivne and Cladaville.

properties in Islay owned by or wadset to Daniel Campbell of Shawfield<sup>1</sup>, Donald Campbell of Lossit, James Campbell of Ballinaby, Charles Campbell of Kilinalen, Colin Campbell of Baill, Donald Campbell of Sunderland and sundry other Campbells. In this Valuation the rental of the neighbouring island of Jura owned by Campbell of Shawfield is given, not in Scots Pounds or Sterling Pounds, but in marklands, this being an indication of the survival of the Old Extent System earlier mentioned.

The other source of information relating to the mid-eighteenth century consists of maps drawn after survey by Stephen MacDougall between 1749 and 1751. A few of these maps exist on a scale of about six inches to one mile and show the marches, enclosures, field, buildings, and areas capable of improvement on a few holdings in the Rhinns peninsula. Reproduction of two of these large-scale maps for Sunderland and Gladavill are shown in figures 6a and 6b. It seems probable that more of these large scale maps existed for other parts of the island in order to compile the generalised, smaller scale map covering the whole island which was published

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1. Daniel Campbell was the son of Walter Campbell of Skipness in Kintyre, Argyll, and went to Boston in 1692, where he became a shipowner and merchant for trade in the West Indies and Colonies. A decade later he returned to Scotland and became a collector of customs at Newport Glasgow as well as retaining a merchant exporting business in the Saltmarket there. As the years passed he steadily acquired landed property in and around Glasgow and bought the estate of Shawfield between Glasgow and Rutherglen in Lanarkshire. As a Member of Parliament for Glasgow he had a fine town-house in the Gallowgate. This was sacked by a mob in 1725 as a result of his unpopular politics in voting for a malt tax which Scotland had been spared after Union with England in 1707. With the compensatory money from the City Campbell bought the islands of Islay and Jura in 1725. (For details of career up to 1723 see Shawfield Papers, Mitchell Library, Glasgow, and Glasgow Herald 1959, June 1, 2, 3. J.M. Reid, "A New Light on Old Glasgow".)

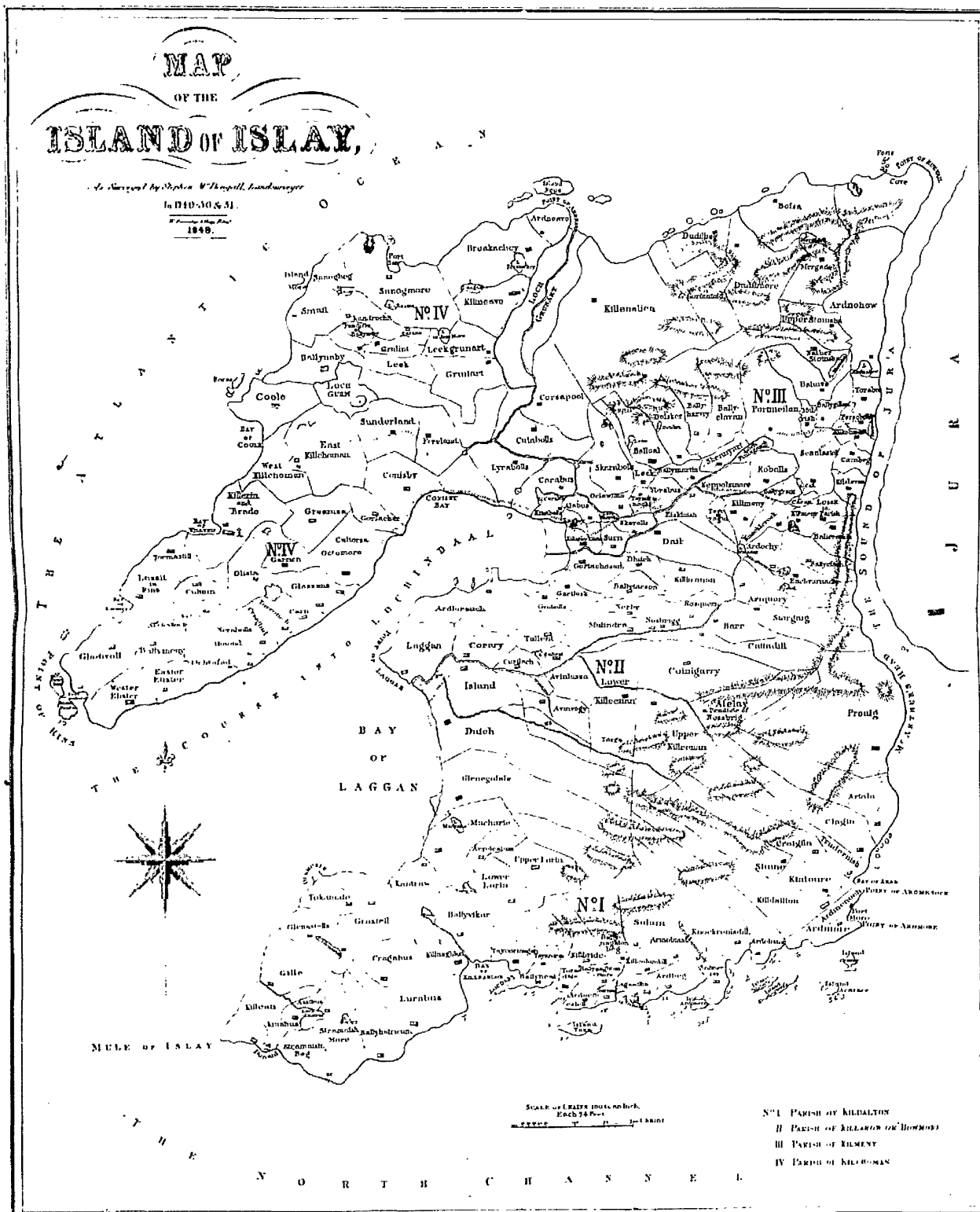


Figure 7. Map of the Island of Islay as surveyed by Stephen MacDougall between 1749 and 1751. Published 1848.

(Smith, G.G. The Book of Islay, Plate V.)

a century later in 1848<sup>1</sup>. This likelihood is further emphasised by the fact that amongst a list of Library contents in 1777 in the Mansion of Islay the words appear "Book of Maps"<sup>2</sup>. It is known further that much estate material belonging to the island was lost in a fire at the Shawfield mansion at Woodhall in Lanark in the mid-nineteenth century. It is unfortunate that there are so few remnants left of the maps of this time to provide a more complete picture of the state of the holdings and agricultural improvements which had taken place at the hands of the First Campbell of Shawfield, Daniel. It seems likely that the surveyor MacDougall was in fact brought to the island not only to measure the extent or acreages of the holdings but also to provide a basis for assessing either the improvements already carried out or the areas in which these, and other improvements to land buildings and roads, could be performed. Of the few maps which do remain, the other features shown, apart from the enclosures, fields, and comments for improvement, are the large house in which the tacksman lived, and the clustered houses of his subtenants or workers. The smaller scale map published in 1848<sup>3</sup> was perhaps compiled from the larger scale maps. The reproduction of this map in figure 7 shows the divisions of townlands and tacks for the entire island in the mid-eighteenth century. From this map many of the towns and farms appearing in later eighteenth and nineteenth century estate rentals but which have since disappeared from published maps have been located. The boundaries of each holding are shown, together with a shaded block symbolising settlement. In most cases this corresponded to a clustered clachan; in many cases these have disappeared at the present day or are in ruins. In the few cases in which reference can be made to the larger scale original maps the block on the generalised map corresponds

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1. Smith, G.G. Op. cit. Plate V.

2. Op. cit., p. 473.

3. Op. cit.

usually to the tackman's house, e.g. at Coull. But no separate symbol appears on the generalised map for the houses of workers or subtenants nearby, which were depicted on the larger scale plans.

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1733	Large single tenancy lands		Multiple tenancy lands
Parish			
Kilchoman	17 )		( 6 holdings with a total of 34 tenants
Killarow	21 )	51.	53 { 25 holdings with a total of 121 tenants
Kildalton	13 )		( 22 holdings with a total of 125 tenants
(cf. Trotternish	24	58 holdings	)

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1741			
Kilchoman	13 )		( 5 holdings with a total of 29 tenants
Killarow	19 )	45	41 { 19 holdings with a total of 82 tenants
Kildalton	13 )		17 holdings with a total of 78 tenants

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Table 1 - Numbers of single and multiple tenancies in 1733 & 1741 in Islay.  
(The decrease in total numbers is due to increasing number of small and medium single tenancy lands.)

During the first half of the eighteenth century in Islay the picture of landholdings and landholders was a slowly changing one. There were internal changes of tenants and tacksmen from holding to holding. The numbers of tacksmen declined and the joint tenants increased. Table 1 illustrates the changing numbers of lands held by tacksmen and joint tenants in Islay between 1733 and 1741. The large farmers or tacksmen, often relatives of the laird from the neighbouring Argyll mainland, held leases of tacks of a farm or a group of several farms for long periods. Many of the tacks comprised large grazing areas of farms, e.g. Proaig, Ardtalla, Kilinallen, Ardnave, Stationsha tacks, on the higher hill parts of Islay especially in the north-east and south-east quartzitic areas. And the majority of these never came into the

hands of direct small tenants. They were worked by sub-tenants, virtually cottars or labourers. Many are still at the present day large grazing farms with arable land of little importance. Most of the remaining areas in Islay in the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century were under small tenants or joint farmers and comprised those now more important as arable areas.

Tacksman with large holdings were not to be encouraged in the interests of better farming, as Campbell of Shawfield realised. As early as 1734 there had been a tacksman's emigration<sup>1</sup>. Possession of land by tacksman was usually a means to an end<sup>2</sup>. It was rarely as an end in itself, and the tacksman at first was rarely interested in agriculture or improvements. In Islay there were exceptions; some tacksman held large tacks in which arable land was of considerable importance and was early enclosed and improved as for instance in the examples of Stephen MacDougall's maps of Coull, Cladavill and others in 1749. But generally in Islay as elsewhere the later rentals of the eighteenth century show how the tacksman became reduced in numbers and the large tacks split up into single farms, or directly amongst small tenants in joint farms, a feature which continued for several decades. Through the eighteenth century there was coming into being a varied farming society capable of trying out some of the new ideas introduced by the laird to further

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1. The Oban Times of 1927 (26/3, 2/4, 23/4, 30/4) has descriptions by Dr. George F. Black describing how in 1734 the State of New York encouraged Protestants from Europe to settle there with 200 acres of improved land for each family. These proposals fell into the hands of Captain Lauchlen Campbell of Islay who in 1737 visited New York State. He returned to Islay and subsequently in 1738 took out his own family and 30 other families. A further 40 emigrated in 1739 comprised of many tacksman, and more followed in 1740.

2. MacSween, M.D. Settlement in Trotternish, Isle of Skye, 1700-1958, Chap.III.

the agriculture and indeed the entire livelihood of the island's people. This contrasts widely with other parts of the West Highlands such as Trotternish and Ardnamurchan-Sunart for example where the eighteenth century landholdings system and the society were very much less varied. This in turn led to very different nineteenth century development, as will later be illustrated.

Next in rank to the tacksmen and the farmers were the small tenants holding towns or farms jointly amongst them. Again in Islay in these joint communities there was gradation of status and wealth. The subtenants on large tacks differed very little from these joint tenants except that they had less security and less capability of accumulating capital since rent increases were passed on to them. Often later in the eighteenth century when the leases of the tacks expired, these subtenants assumed the status of joint tenants renting directly from the proprietor as will later be shown. Over and above these direct tenants, and the subtenants of the tacksmen, there were also living on the land subtenants of the joint tenants, and cottars, but about these nothing is known as to their numbers or distribution in Islay or elsewhere, except that they did exist in substantial numbers on most estates. Everywhere on both tacks and farms then, the population supported was much higher than was indicated by the direct tenants of the rentals.

#### Land organisation.

The method of working holdings in the early eighteenth century is rarely directly referred to in Islay in published literature of the time but references to it are found in later published works<sup>1</sup> and in unpublished estate material. The system common to eighteenth century Highland agriculture, as of

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1. For example see - The Old Statistical Account, 1794, vol. XI.  
The New Statistical Account, vol. VII, 1845  
Hendley, J.E. Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century  
Gray, M. The Highland Economy, 1750 - 1850.

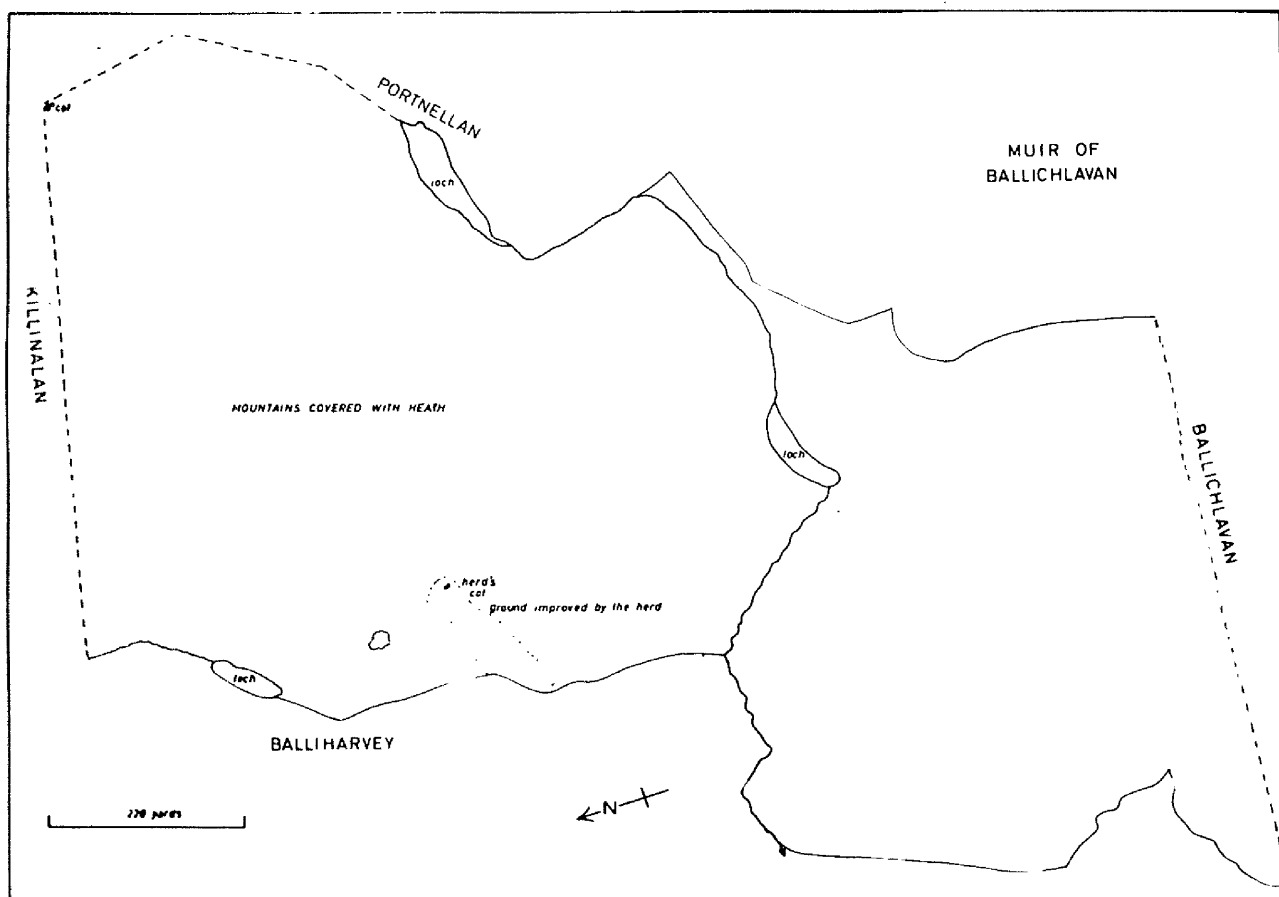
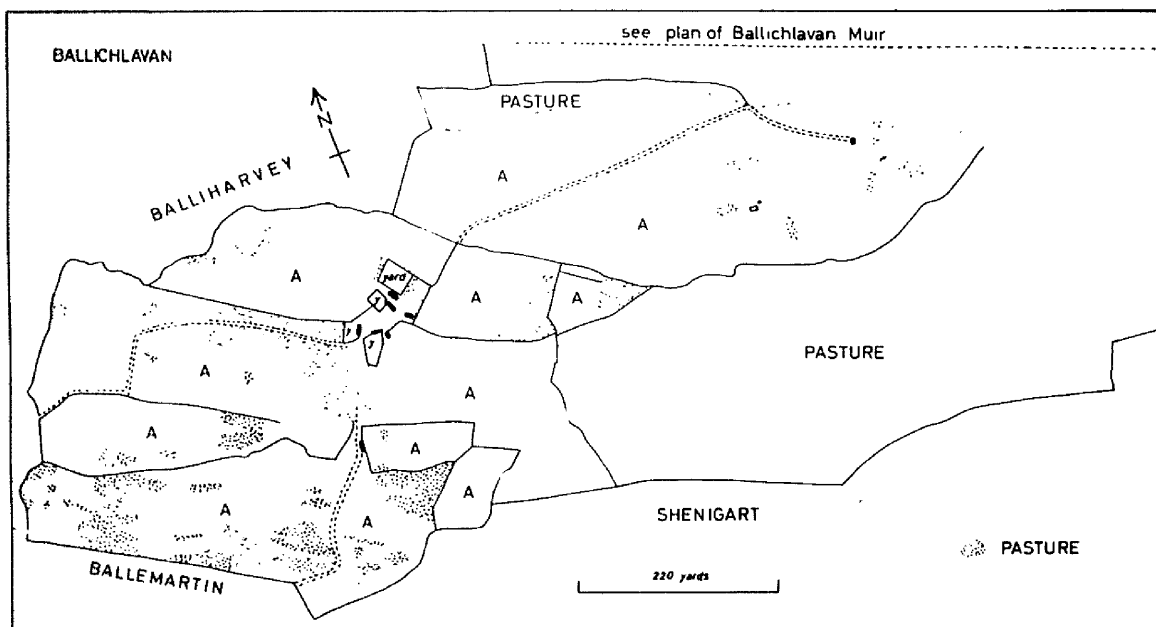


Figure 8. The joint township of Ballichlavan, after William Gemmill's maps of the 1820's and 1830's.  
 8a. (top) The intermixture of arable and pasture is shown, as is the central clachan.  
 8b. (bottom) The common muir, with the township herd's cot and improved land around it.



earlier Scottish agriculture as a whole, namely the openfield system, was prevalent in Islay. The land was organised into portions known as winter-town, common muir and shielings (late eighteenth century tacks). The most important part of town or farm was the infield on the better soil - called in Islay the wintertown (in winter stock grazed on the cropped stubble). Poorer land around or above this was usually used for grazing in common, though parts of it may have been utilised periodically or sporadically for cropping. This latter is often referred to elsewhere in Scotland as the outfield, but no direct reference to it has been found with regard to Islay. Perhaps pressure of population in the eighteenth century in Islay was not sufficient to necessitate use of the grazing area for periodic cultivation though in the next century extension of the cropped area probably took place with the increased population and cultivation of the potato. Certainly from field map and photo observation the distinct division into infield and outfield generally regarded as characteristic of Scottish agriculture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is not clearly recognisable in Islay except in areas of regular topography on the raised beaches and the sides of larger river valleys. In the more characteristic irregular topography of the basin or tributary valley form, and on the benches of valley sides, cultivable areas are frequently separated from one another and internally broken up by intervening hill or bog pastures. The estate maps of Islay which survive for 1749-1751 and for the early years of the nineteenth century make no reference to and do not show marked divisions into infield and outfield. Rather the arable and pasture parts of each holding are intermingled within the area near the settlement according to topography, rocky outcrops and soils. (See figure 8a depicting township of Ballichlavan).

This accords with MacSween<sup>1</sup> and I.F. Grant<sup>2</sup>. It is worth noting however, that unlike Trotternish, in which MacSween claims the period of extension of the cultivated land largely accomplished by 1764, the areas cultivated in Islay during the first part of the eighteenth century were not nearly so extensive as later on in the century when improving clauses in each lease involved reclamation of 4 acres for each quarter-land; and in the nineteenth century further land reclamation from tidal sands and from peat-covered boulder clay and river alluvium took place at a time before total population on the land began to decline.

The only reference to the manner in which the open-field was cultivated during the first part of the century is contained in the New Statistical Account of a century later<sup>3</sup>. Mention is made several times of remnants of periodic reallocation of each tenant's strips in the 'openfield' or communal field - though the field itself would in all probability be enclosed by a dyke, turf or stone. It is postulated that periodic reallocation of strips was sporadically changed over to fixed strip cultivation; and this was succeeded by exchanging of strips, laterally and longitudinally, either at the wish of the lairds between the latter decades of the eighteenth century and the first few of the nineteenth century, or else simply as the numbers of the land holders began to decline or drift to the mainland. The general lack of evidence of rectilinear lotting and the absence of obvious common grazings near the groups of small holdings which remain today are again indicative of the gradual change from the old order to the present one in Islay. By the continuing gradual process of emigration, celibacy and

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1. MacSween, M.D. Op. cit., p.45.

2. Grant, I.F. "The Highland Openfield System". Geogr. Teach. 1926, vol.13, p.486.

3. The New Statistical Account, vol.VII, 1794, p.659 et seq.

death it is easy to visualise the manner in which consolidation of holdings from strips can take place without the formal "planned" rearrangement of the land, at least when the total number of tenants in the township is fairly small. In this latter proviso may lie the clue to the gradual evolution of the Islay holdings as opposed to the revolution of much of the rest of the western seaboard, especially of more remote areas and further north. Just as in the more accessible Highland fringes, so in Islay it was always the aim of the landlord to keep the numbers of tenants on the land as low as possible, by attraction to villages; by forbidding subdivision; by reduction in numbers (such as occurred between 1824 and 1833); and by later aided emigration. This contrasts with the remoter areas where even in the eighteenth century population was increasingly dependent for subsistence on outside resources such as fishing, and where the rise of kelp manufacture created such a large population by the early nineteenth century. When these ancillary resources failed it was necessary to wipe the slate clean of excess population and create large farms or crofting townships of very small holdings. In these remoter areas there had been little systematic attempt to separate agricultural from other occupations and settlements as there had been in Islay from the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Although in contrast to some estate maps<sup>1</sup> strips were not shown on any of the Islay estate maps, strip or ridge cultivation did exist in Islay. It is likely that each tenant in the joint farm generally had his fixed strip earlier than in much of the rest of the seaboard if the reports of writers about the late eighteenth century agriculture are to be believed. That these strips in turn were superseded at an earlier stage though still gradually

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1. For example those studied for Lowland Scotland by  
Third, B.M.W., "Changes in Eighteenth Century Rural Scotland", Ph.D. Thesis,  
Edinburgh, 1953.

Or see - Third, B.M.W., "Scot.Stud." 1957, vol.I, p.39.

"The Significance of Scottish Estate Plans".

Lebon, J.H.G. "Old Maps and Rural Change in Ayrshire"

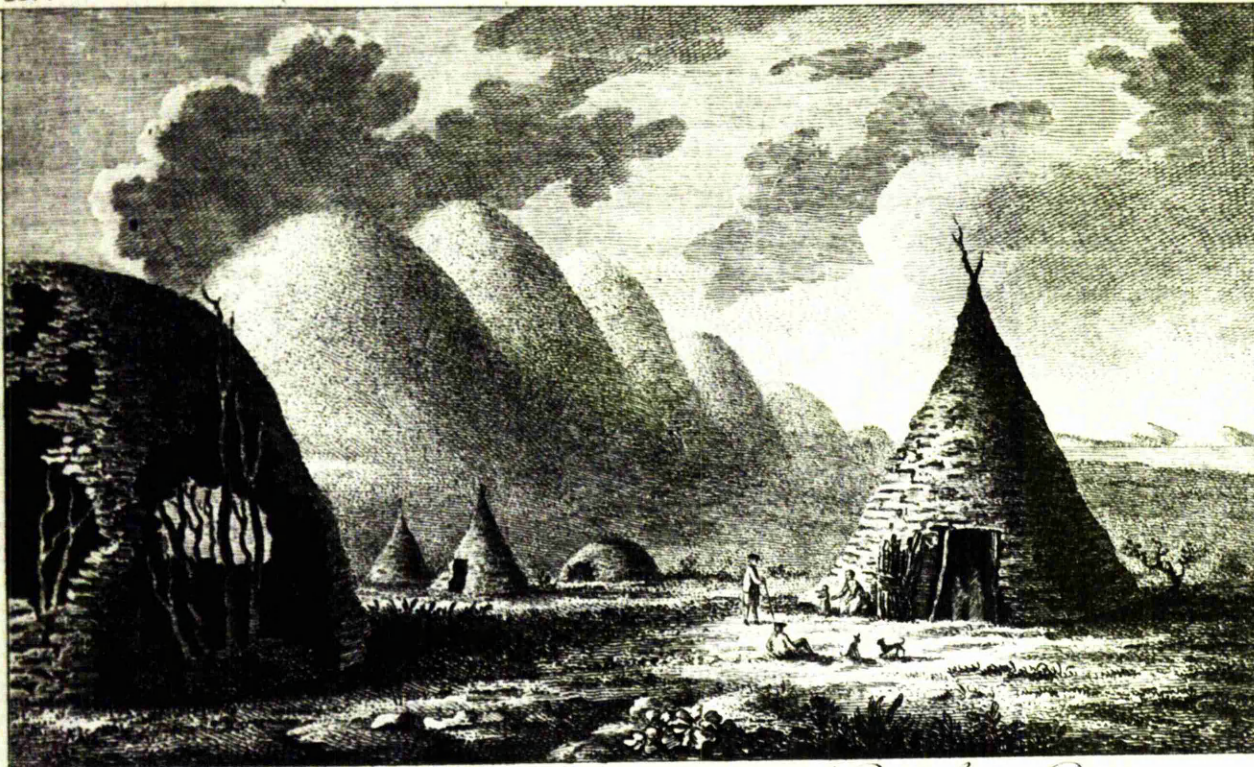
Scot. geog. Mag., 1952, vol.68, No.3. p.104.

and sporadically, and not necessarily over the whole island, is likewise postulated since there is frequently little trace of ridge cultivation at all in those areas still arable. In only a few parts do the ridges survive in areas uncultivated since the maximum extension of the arable land, probably sometime in the 1830's. These ridges are usually the broad ones associated with plough ridges except on the steepest slopes, e.g. in parts of the Oa where there may have been lazy bed methods of cultivation, using foot-spade digging. Lack of ridge cultivation evidence however does not always necessarily indicate that the practice disappeared early, since continuous or intermittent cultivation over a century or more could easily eradicate former traces. Attempts at enclosure and consolidation of individual tenants' ridges or strips were indicated by remarks such as "lack of consolidation which the proprietor is determined to alter"<sup>1</sup>. Ideas for improvement and enclosure were certainly in vogue in second half of the eighteenth century. But not until 1779 are both features incorporated in leases. In the eighteenth century the population supported on both tacks and joint farms was much higher than indicated by the numbers of direct tenants on the rentals. Under the prevailing agricultural system it was difficult to effect the agricultural improvements which the island's owner had seen on his travels through the United Kingdom as a Member of Parliament. And it was not until his grandson Walter Frederick became owner of the Island in the latter part of the eighteenth century when tacks and leases fell out that finally his aim of breaking up the tacks, of leasing only such areas as a large farmer could profitably and reasonably farm, and of giving individual tenants their own piece of land according to their means was realised. This was aided by attracting people from the land into villages, or by

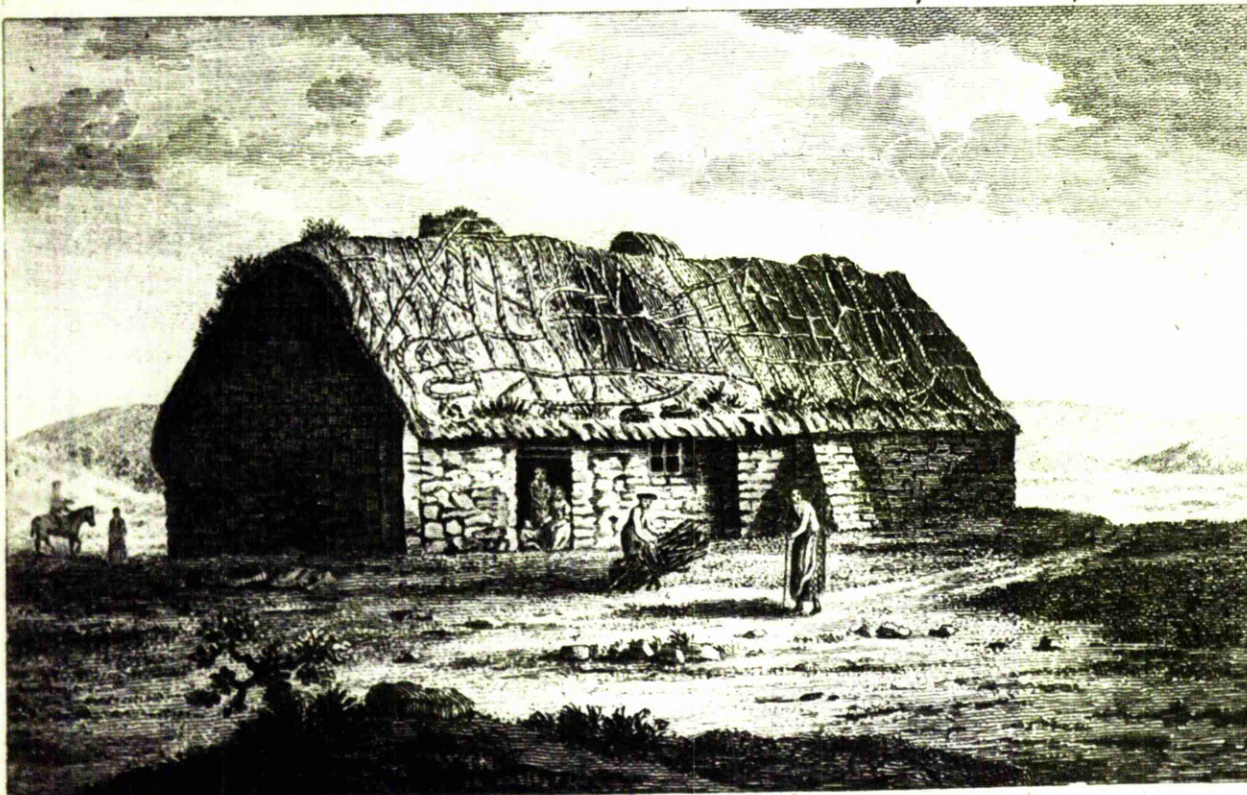
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1. Smith, G.G. Op. cit., p.469.





*Sheelins in JURA and a distant View of the Paps.*



*A Cottage in ISLAY.*

Figure 9. Sheelings in Jura, and a cottage in Islay about 1774.  
(Pennant, T. A Voyage to the Hebrides, Vol.I., p. 216.)

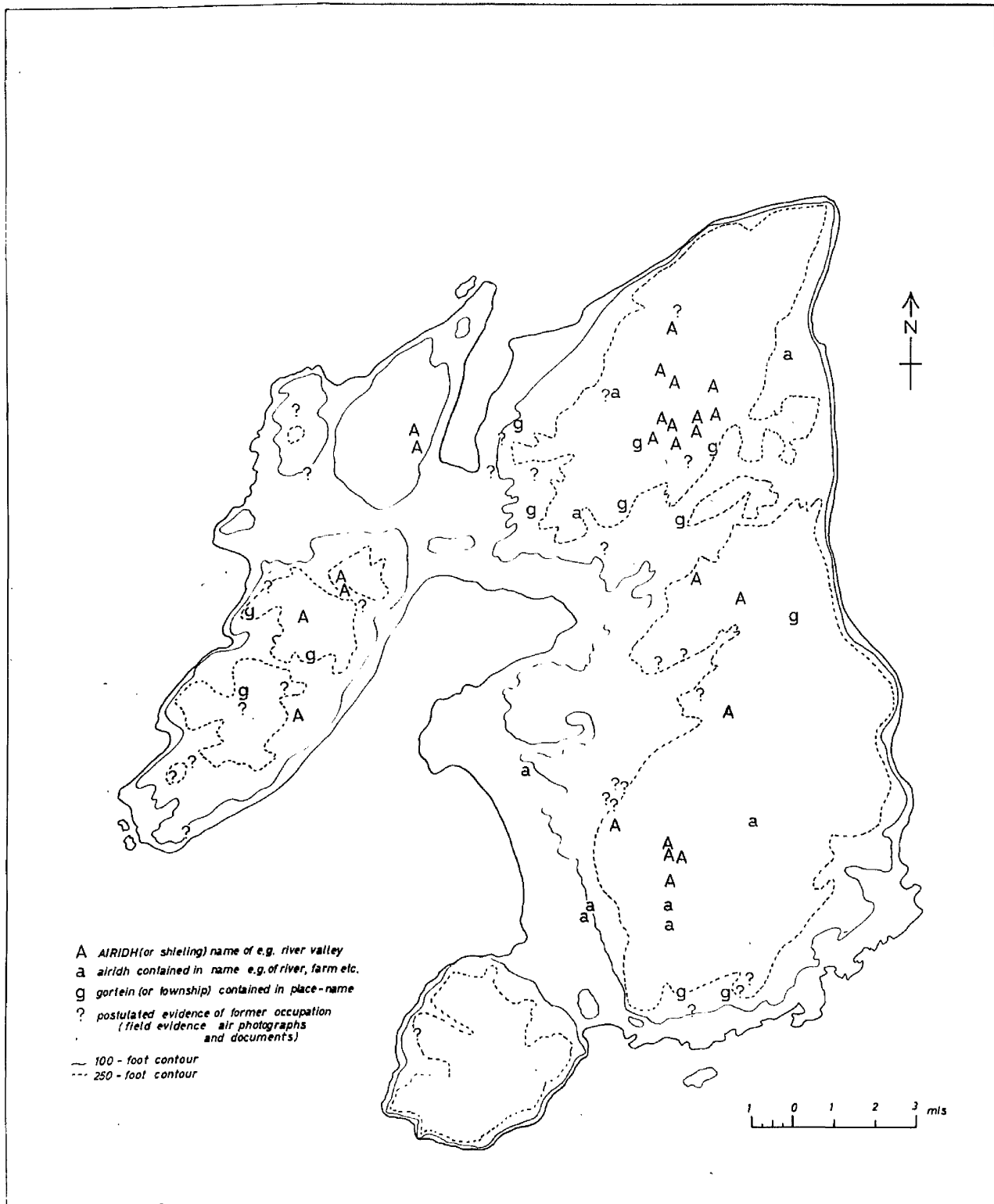


Figure 10. Map of Islay showing some evidence (necessarily incomplete) of pre-Agricultural Revolution land occupation in Islay.



reclaiming new land, or by the people themselves moving to the Lowlands for higher economic aims. Agricultural innovations were piecemeal and earlier initiated than in the rest of the seaboard excepting Kintyre, and by the nineteenth century there was neither the same large population nor the same urge to create egalitarian small holdings in crofting townships for too large a population.

So far very little has been noted about the remaining area of each township, the common muir, perhaps with shielings and summer pasture. In figure 8b the common muir of Ballichlavan township is depicted. The small area of improved land around the cot or house belongs to the communal herd. Grazing of the muir by the stock of the joint tenants was according to each tenant's share or soum<sup>1</sup>. As will later be discussed the common muir in Islay was later either divided up amongst individual groups or individual tenants, or by dwindling numbers of tenants became the hill portion of a single landholding. There is scarcely any working common pasture at the present day, unlike many other parts of the west Highlands region in which the landscape evolution in the nineteenth century took a different course. The existence of shielings on the common muir has likewise long since ceased to be of importance in Islay although two indicators of their former existence and use can be illustrated.

According to MacSween<sup>2</sup> "In Scotland, comparatively little is known in detail of the shieling system (of transhumance) and even the many journals of early travellers prove to contain only meagre references. The great

1. Each tenant by his share of rent was entitled to graze a particular number or soum of livestock. The different types of animal could be interchanged for one another by a system of equivalence. For example one cow may have been equated to five sheep for grazing purposes.
2. MacSween, M.D. Transhumance in North Skye. Scot.Geog.Mag., 1959, vol.75, No.2, p.86.

exception is the Welshman Pennant....who....in 1772...in Islay and Jura.... remarked several times on the shielings which formed a prominent feature of the landscape, and his description of one particular group is probably the best eye-witness account of transhumance in the Hebrides during the eighteenth century.....Some of the shielings were oblong, some conic." One of his sketches of such shielings in Jura is reproduced in figure 9 along with a contemporaneous cottage in Islay. The second source of information on shielings is summarised in figure 10 which has been compiled from place-name, air photograph and field evidence. This map however provides but an incomplete indication of the former existence of shielings which formed such an important supplement to the grazing capabilities of a township dependent on the sale of store cattle for monetary income.

This then was the situation in Islay at the start of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Old methods of agriculture were changing to new ones of more adequate organisation. As in the Lowlands, attempts were being made to separate agriculture and industry to counteract the tendency of land-overpopulation. The connections with the mainland and especially with the Lowlands were becoming closer ideologically as well as geographically than for many parts of the Highlands except southern Perthshire and southern Argyll. The early close contact with the mainland in the names of tacksmen from the neighbouring Argyll mainland who had also tacks in the island in the first quarter of the century, was reinforced later in the century by the introduction of the first regular once-weekly sailing packet in the Hebrides. This plied from West Loch Tarbert on the mainland to Islay from 1767 onwards<sup>1</sup>, and was at first financed by Shawfield of Islay and Freebairn of Colonsay (carriage of mails was its most essential feature at this stage). The island's greater

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1. Smith, G.G. Op. cit., p.469.



accessibility meant the earlier and more gradual introduction and spread of the innovations of the Agricultural Revolution from Lowlands centres. The changes wrought were gradual and sporadic in extent and scope and resulted in less regular patterns than those which earlier occurred in the Lowlands, or were later to take place in the Highlands as a whole. The whole pattern of landholdings with associated field and settlements has always therefore been much less rigid in Islay. Traces of the old order of tacks which became farms directly without subdivision amongst small tenants, and of joint farms which subsequently became groups of small holdings, remain all over the island. Fairly often much of the landscape of any agricultural holding at the present day consists of relict signs of the pre-Agricultural Revolution orders of organisation. These form the basis on which subsequent evolution of the present-day patterns of landholdings and settlement was founded unlike much of the rest of the western seaboard, where the older order was often suddenly obliterated at some time in the first half of the nineteenth century<sup>1</sup>.

Again, the relatively small size of the townships has resulted in a further difference from other west Highland and Island areas generally. Clustered settlement continued throughout the nineteenth century in most areas of Islay since consolidation of holdings appeared to take place gradually and sporadically, and no new arable holdings was really far enough from the original settlement site to make it necessary or even desirable to build a new home and steading on the consolidated holding. The exceptions comprise some partially dispersed clusters and replacements of clusters by single farm buildings. Much of the settlement pattern thus

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1. For example - the crofting system was widely established in Trotternish, Skye, in 1811. (MacSween, M.D. Op. cit., p.76.)

Or again, in N. Uist in 1814 (Moisley, H.A., 'N. Uist in 1799', Scot.Geog.Mag., 1961, vol.77, No.2, p.90.)

contains relicts of the older order, especially in those areas in which groups of small holdings are still more characteristic than single farms. At the same time many of the latter now contain a cluster or clusters of ruined buildings, the only present-day relics of the order which once was/ <sup>ubiquitous.</sup>

The contrast of landholdings and settlement patterns in an area of apparently similar physical isolation but one which in fact has greater ideological isolation, is to be seen in the development of the patterns in Ardnamurchan Sunart. The ideas and effects of the Agricultural Revolution reached the peninsula later and were less gradual in application. Especially where this led to the establishment ofcrofting townships, the older order of landholdings and settlement was more successfully obliterated. It is possible however to build up a picture of the peninsula through the eighteenth century until the beginning of the next - at a time when the effects of the Revolution had scarcely begun to be felt. Much of the eighteenth century basis in the peninsula is seen to be the same as that for Islay and only significant differences will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Chapter 2. LANDHOLDINGS, LANDHOLDERS AND SETTLEMENT IN ARDNAMURCHAN-SUNART IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

The first main source of information on the landholdings settlement and population of Ardnamurchan and Sunart in the eighteenth century is Murray<sup>1</sup>. He provides a comprehensive list of holdings or tenements, numbers of families (but not of tenants), stock of cattle and soun, rent and presents in kind due in 1723 when the author purchased the estate. Information is also added as to woods, seaware, fish, fowl, minerals, and others. The information is accompanied by mention of several mooted and partially executed improvement schemes. Plans are shown of, and mention made of enclosures, improvements and reclamations on the parts of the estate around the laird's house at Mingary - in the characteristic 'policy' fashion of the early eighteenth century. There is also a plan for improving the Bay of Kilchoan and one for Kentra Moss (Cowley 1734) in which wet grounds were to be drained for cultivation and the dry sandy ones flooded for fish beds. But these improvement schemes took place in only a few areas of the peninsula and generally the picture was one of unimproved large grazing tacks and many joint farms, as in Islay at the same time. In contrast to Islay however sheep are specifically mentioned in the soun figures, indicating their greater importance in the economy of the peninsula even at this time. This emphasises the essentially hilly nature of the peninsula, a fact which is further stressed by the absence of cropping information generally. Cultivation was necessary for winter fodder for cattle as well as meal for human food, but arable land was peripheral and scanty in the peninsula. This limited distribution of potential arable land determined the existence, siting and

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1. Murray, Sir A. The True Interest of Great Britain, Ireland and Our Plantations.....Anatomy of the Barony of Ardnamurchan-Sunart, in 1723.





Figure 11. Reproduction of part of Bald's map of Ardnamurchan and Sunart in 1807, showing the enclosures and improvements around the laird's seat at Mingary. To west and east are joint townships, with common arable and pasture worked from the clachans or clustered settlements.



size of settlements. Over the succeeding centuries the distribution of settlement sites did not change much from the original peripheral areas around the sea coast and at the lower end of river valleys. In fact, the actual distribution decreased although single settlement clusters themselves may have temporarily increased to a maximum size and density at the start of the nineteenth century.

With reference to holdings in the eighteenth century it is difficult to distinguish between tacks and joint townships since in these earlier sources the names of single tenants are not given, and only the total number of families on any one holding is indicated. But in contrast to Isley where the changes introduced by the Agricultural Revolution were penetrating in small areas increasingly in scope throughout the rest of the century, in Ardnamurchan there is little evidence of change, and the old order of holdings, with a very few improvements and enclosures, lasted right through the century until the early years of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> At that time, the then proprietor of the estate, Sir James Milles Riddell, engaged the surveyor and cartographer William Bald to make a detailed and accurate plan of his estate, showing the distribution of tacks and joint farms, exact acreages of arable, pasture and grazing lands, the plantations, mineral veins and other features. With the aid of an assessor Alexander Low, of Woodend, a Valuation of the lands of his estate was made, with suggestions for future changes and improvements. The results of these ideas are still extant in the magnificent Plan of Ardnemurchan and Sunart of 1806 and 1807, (an extract is shown in figure 11), and in the Valuation accompanying it. Both documents present a finely-drawn portrait of a West Highland estate, one of many similar ones at this time undergoing or about to enter a period of transition. This change was from the old order of

large tacks, joint townships (with periodic or fixed runrig strips) and

1. Discussion of Roy's Military Survey of the mid 18th century for the peninsula is here omitted since for the purposes of studying the development of patterns of landholdings and settlement, the much more detailed and precise plan of William Bald in 1806/7 is of considerably greater value.

## 1807 LAND DIVISIONS and SETTLEMENT from BALD'S MAP

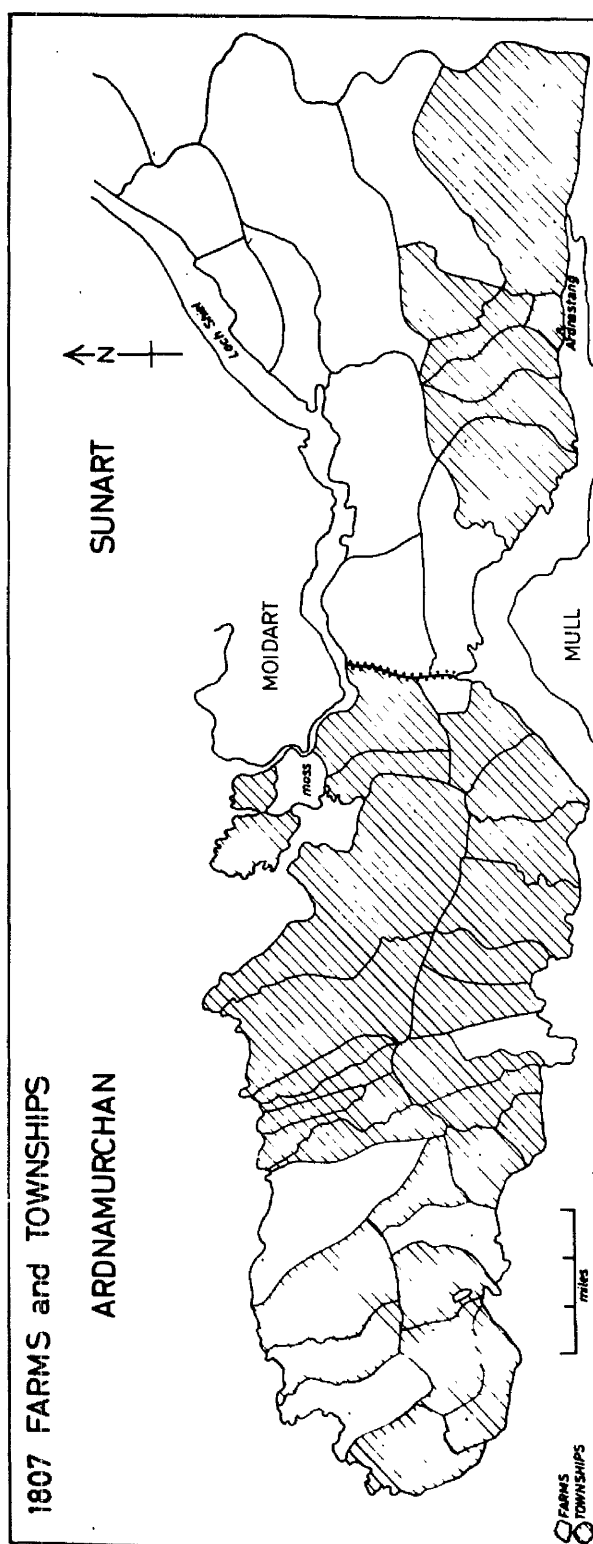
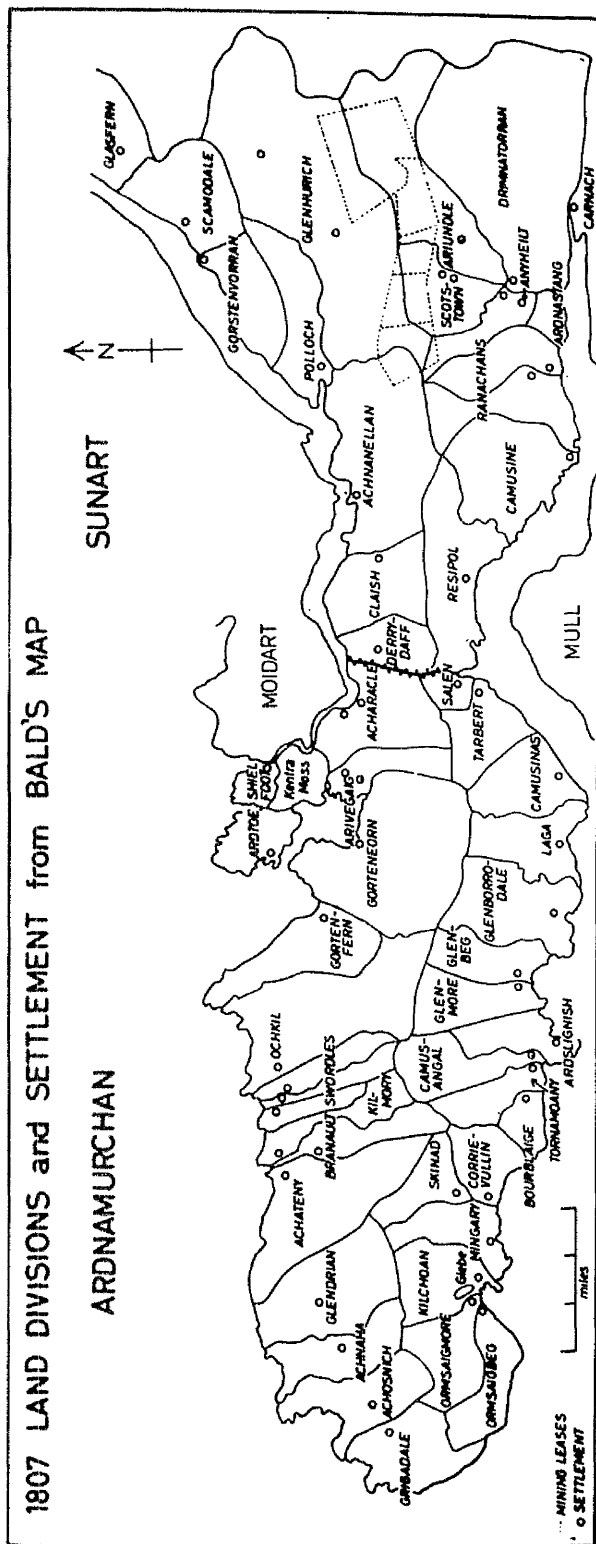


Figure 12. Farms and townships in Ardnamurchan and Surart after Bald in 1807.  
(Transferred to O.S. one-inch base map).

clustered settlement to the later one of large grazing farms and lotted crofting townships with mainly dispersed settlement.

The details shown on Bald's plan, which was on a scale of over 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches to the mile, and the cartographic techniques used, are described in Appendix 2. For the present purpose, it is sufficient to discuss the distribution of tacks, joint farms, lotted crofting townships and settlement in the peninsula in 1807. The features shown on Bald's Plan have been transferred to a one-inch base map, and figures 12a and 12b illustrate the basis for further discussion of the evolution of patterns of landholdings and settlement in the peninsula. From figure 12b Ardnamurchan in 1807 is seen to comprise a few large tacks and many townships of varying sizes and shapes, a characteristic which remains in some measure today. Sunart even then is seen to be an area of predominantly large grazing tacks. Only a few townships are shown near the mouth of the Strontian river valley facing south over Loch Sunart. The difference between western and eastern ends of the peninsula is essentially one of differing physical and exposure characteristics as well as of differing degrees of isolation. The western end of the peninsula in Ardnamurchan is composed mainly of Tertiary lavas and igneous complexes, with embayments of machair or shell sand capable of supporting more cultivation by township populations than the eastern area which is predominantly north-facing and consists of harder and poorer quartzitic rocks, covered by poor grazing forming large sheep walks. (see figure 74).

As in Islay during the latter part of the eighteenth century and the earlier years of the succeeding one, so in the peninsula in the nineteenth century most of the changes wrought by the Agricultural Revolution took place in the joint farms. The pre-Agricultural joint farms are well depicted in Bald's map, and cartographic representations of some of the older

organisations of the townships are shown in Section III which discussed changes from the old to the new order. The features of these joint townships in the peninsula are similar to those discussed earlier in relation to the eighteenth century Islay ones, and again emphasise the lack of distinct division into infield and outfield, due in part to fragmented topography and to sparseness of arable land. The existence of common muirs and shielings can likewise be illustrated for the peninsula. But in one main feature especially do these townships differ from those of the island - and this, along with other factors such as the manufacture of kelp, generally less productive soils, isolation from ideas of separation of agriculture and industry, may help to account for the divergent development of patterns of landholdings evolution in the peninsula from those of the island. In the majority of cases, in the <sup>early</sup> nineteenth century, the numbers of tenants, not taking into consideration subtenants and others, were larger in each township in the peninsula than in Islay in relation to the amount of productive land. This feature was much more characteristic of the west Highland seaboard as a whole. Later reorganisation was more difficult and more drastic, instead of gradual. Environmental and isolational differences have accounted for this divergent development from the ubiquitous tacks and farms as will later be discussed.

In only one township in the entire peninsula by 1807 was there any real sign of the main fundamental change of the Agricultural Revolution after enclosure - individual consolidated holdings. There were enclosures of common fields in some of the other townships, but only in the township of Ardnastang at the mouth of the Strontian river valley did each tenant in 1807 have his own individual field of improved land. Unlike Islay, the common grazing in the peninsula was not likewise divided, but remained a



common. In fact the township was the first example in the peninsula of the lotted crofting township so characteristic of nineteenth century late application of the Agricultural Revolution to the remoter parts of the western Highlands and Islands.

The settlement form depicted on Bald's plan at the start of the nineteenth century was almost entirely that of the clachan, with the exception of the dispersed settlement of the crofting township of Ardnastang. It was still almost entirely peripheral in nature, apart from a few interior river basins, and no new settlement sites had arisen during the passing of the century. The density of individual clusters may be presumed to have increased but this did not result in the creation of smaller daughter settlements owing to the restricted nature of available tillable land.

## II. THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION AND AFTER.

### GENERAL EVOLUTION OF LANDHOLDINGS PATTERNS.

#### Chapter 3. SOURCES AND INTRODUCTION. DETERMINATION OF TERMINOLOGY

Fairly plentiful published sources are available for both Islay and Ardnamurchan-Sunart in the late eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries. But by the second half of the nineteenth century there are relatively few. Again, for both areas, there exists a fairly complete set of unpublished estate rentals, leases, correspondence for the earlier years, with some map sources, though these are less complete. The first edition of the Ordnance Survey six-inch maps relates to the 1880's in these areas. These sources of published texts and maps, together with unpublished estate material, study of air photographs and work in the field, can be used as sources in historical geography in four ways, roughly corresponding to the four approaches of Darby<sup>1</sup>, as follows:

1. To study the geography of the areas concerned at particular periods with special reference to landholdings and settlement
2. To study the evolution of the patterns of landholdings and settlement through these periods.
3. Most important of all, the ways in which, or processes by which this evolution occurred,
4. The resultant effects of the patterns on land utilisation and settlement at the present day.

The first and second will be studied in this section II to give an over-all picture of the changing aspects of land utilisation and settlement in Islay and Ardnamurchan and Sunart after the ideas of the Agricultural Revolution really penetrated in the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century. But the more detailed explanation of the processes bringing about

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1. Darby, H.C. On the Relations of Geography and History.  
Trans.Inst.Brit.Geogr., 1953, vol.19, p.1 et seq.

evolutionary patterns and the resultant effects on the landholdings and settlement pattern of today, the third and fourth facets, will be discussed later in Section III. A summary of the main sources follows. Details are to be found in the selected bibliography on page (1) before the appendices.

A. PUBLISHED NATIONAL SOURCES.

- I. SURVEYS AND CENSUSES.
- II. MAPS.
- III. REPORTS AND MINUTES OF EVIDENCE OF ROYAL COMMISSIONS  
REPORTS OF GOVERNMENT AND OTHER OFFICIAL BODIES  
RELEVANT ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

B. UNPUBLISHED NATIONAL SOURCES.

- I. THE CENSUS OF SCOTLAND INDIVIDUAL ENUMERATED SCHEDULES  
1841 to 1891.
- II. RECORDS OF H.M. CUSTOMS AND EXCISE.
- III. AIR PHOTOGRAPHS.

C. UNPUBLISHED PRIVATE SOURCES.

- I. ISLAY
  1. Rentals
  2. Other estate documents
  3. Tacks and leases
  4. Maps and plans
- II. ARDNAMURCHAN-SUNART
  1. Rentals
  2. Other estate documents
  3. Parish Register of the Church of Scotland
  4. Beld's Plan of 1806/7.

OTHER SOURCES.

D. QUESTIONNAIRES

1. Agriculture
2. Growth of holiday industry.

E. FIELD EVIDENCE

F. OTHER PUBLISHED MAPS

G. SELECTED PUBLISHED BOOKS, ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS

H. UNPUBLISHED REFERENCE WORKS, e.g. THESES, PAPERS.

The southern parts of mainland Argyll, like the southern fringes of Perthshire, saw the first introduction into the Highlands of Scotland in the first, and more especially in the second half of the eighteenth century of the ideas and practices of the Agricultural Revolution, the most important of which was enclosure. In many, though by no means all, areas of the Lowlands there had been a complete Revolution of the landscape into planned villages and farms with rectilinear or regular field patterns. Islay was the first of the Hebrides to which the Agricultural Revolution spread, and in the latter parts of the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth, this aspect of planned revolution did apply to some parts of the island, especially in those areas adjacent to the laird's mansion, at the western end of the midland valley. But the revolution was not so thorough as in the Lowlands or even the southern fringes of the Highlands. This is especially true of the effects on the joint farms. The first effects of the revolution on the joint farms may have been enclosure around common fields containing tenants' strips. Thereafter more gradual, sporadic consolidation and evolution of holdings appears to have taken place on the island with dwindling numbers of tenants who left the joint farms for industrial villages or for the rising industrial centres of the relatively accessible Lowlands of Scotland. The results of the more gradual evolution of landholdings are seen today in the generally less regular aspect of field patterns than in the areas where Revolution was carried through fairly suddenly, whether in the early eighteenth century in the Lowlands, or in the next century in other remoter parts of the Highlands and Islands. This is not to say however that there are no regularly planned aspects to the Islay landscape - exceptions are the early eighteenth century straightening of marches and enclosures of the large tacks; the early nineteenth century reorganisation of small single farms and of certain townships.

and the later reclamation schemes of lotments of land on the muirs and around villages. But a complete revolution of the landscape was certainly not carried through all at once. In the island, the changes from the tacks and joint farms of the eighteenth century to the farms, small holdings and villages of the present day were fairly gradual and sporadic in time and place over the span of about a century. The main phases of change were during the late eighteenth and very early nineteenth centuries; the period between the 1820's and 1830's; then they occurred more gradually until the last quarter of the nineteenth century by which time the landscape of farms and smallholdings and villages was virtually as it is today.

This aspect of gradual evolution contrasts strongly with many other parts of the western seaboard especially with those remoter areas such as the peninsulas of the north and western mainland, of which Ardnamurchan-Sunart is fairly typical, and with the Outer Hebrides. In these remoter areas, the effects of the Agricultural Revolution were not felt until after the beginning of the nineteenth century when population had increased far beyond the capabilities of the land to support it without supplementary income from alternative sources such as the manufacture of kelp, or fishing. The subsequent solution to the questions posed by this problem of overpopulation of the land was very much more drastic. In the peninsula of Ardnamurchan-Sunart the changes were wrought much more suddenly and drastically over a shorter period, mainly the second quarter of the nineteenth century, although even here the changes were not so sudden as for instance in Trotternish in Skye, or in parts of the Outer Hebrides. In the peninsula, regularly planned or lotted crofting townships of fairly small holdings, frequently accompanied by redistribution of settlement were established over many areas which had not

been converted into large farms by clearance. The results were often a radically altered landscape, or a revolutionary one, as opposed to the more gradual, evolutionary one of the southern fringes, as in Islay.

In geographical location the island of Islay like the southern fringe of the mainland is seen to occupy an intermediate position between the planned landscape of the eighteenth century Lowlands, and that of the remoter parts of the nineteenth century Highlands and Islands. At the time when agricultural reorganisation was taking place in the Lowlands, the rising industrial centres were easily accessible to absorb surplus population. Land reorganisation there could be accomplished with a more sweeping hand. Such migration was less easy from remoter areas especially from an island, even though it was the most accessible of all the Hebrides to the Lowlands, towards the end of the eighteenth century. Despite the laird's establishment of industrial, non-agricultural villages to absorb surplus population from the land, it was not possible to change the old order of agriculture all at once or quite so radically as it had been in the Lowlands. As the nineteenth century progressed however, Islay became increasingly accessible to the labour markets of the mainland, in terms of facility and cost of travel relative to the rest of the more remote seaboard, and the constant emigration of families each year, together with the laird's continuing policy of separation of the land and industry in villages, contributed to the gradual evolution of the agricultural landholdings. This is the major contrast with most other areas of the west Highland seaboard during the nineteenth century, where the much greater increase of population dependent successively on kelp manufacture, fishing, and potato cultivation, the lack of separation of agricultural from industrial pursuits, and the greater difficulty and cost of emigration to the Lowlands, all led to a much more drastic and sudden

revolution in the first half of the century. This in turn set the way for further population and land difficulties in the next half of the century and has led to very different structures and problems of landholdings, land utilisation and settlement today. The evolution in Islay has resulted in a varied agricultural structure of holdings as regards size and organisation and has been far less an extreme of tacksman to crofter with extremes of size and organisation of holdings.

Determination of terminology.

Before studying the actual processes at work in the evolution of landholdings in the two areas, a brief explanatory discussion of the terms to be used regarding both landholdings and processes of evolution is necessary. One of the meanings of the word evolve is 'to give rise to'. The word evolution may therefore be used as a general term to define the development of the present-day elements of landholdings and settlement whose differentiation from the ubiquitous tacks and clachans and joint farms began with the introduction of the ideas of the Agricultural Revolution. Along with evolution the words revolution and devolution have been applied by various workers in the field of rural settlement. The first, revolution, literally, 'an instance of great change in affairs or in some particular thing' is eminently suitable in this context. But the term devolution, as opposed to revolution, is not satisfactory and is best replaced by the wider term, evolution. Devolution implies on the one hand degeneration which, in this context, might mean change from the complex structure of a joint farm to the more simple one of a farm unit. But in practice, the economic process is the antithesis of degeneration, being far more dependent on external than on internal townships influences. So devolution in this sense is hardly suitable. The alternative meaning, 'the handing on (of anything) to a successor' is also unsuitable since often

the process of gradual decrease has come about through the absence of a successor to a tenant's land. Nor is the term degradation, meaning, 'diminution by degrees of magnitude' suitable since this could apply in the context of numbers of tenants, but not in the areal one. It would have to be used in conjunction with for example, aggrandisement or engrossement, both of which are clumsy terms. So throughout the remainder of this study of processes of evolution and their results on patterns of landholdings and settlement the terms evolution, implying entire process as well as more specific gradual change; and revolution implying sudden and distinct change, will be used. The above changes have occurred singly, or in several successive or multiple phases, varying in emphasis both in time and place in different areas. Certain specific terms however can be used for the specific process at work in any particular area at one time. The terms used in this work for processes in evolution of landholdings, with explanatory definitions, are discussed below. This is done with a view to establishing a definitive nomenclature for the study of the evolution of landholdings in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland as a whole, with the possibility of extension to other areas of parallel physical and social characteristics.

#### DIRECT CHANGE FROM TACK TO FARM.

This term is used to apply to holdings in which the land was never officially subdivided amongst direct tenants of the landlord although in the earlier part of the period under discussion the tacks may well have been organised in a manner similar to the joint farms, with sub-tenants of the tacksmen working the land instead of direct small tenants of the landlord. These subtenants in some cases became direct small tenants but often the farms were essentially pastoral in nature and easily became large grazing farms of one tenant, worked by day labourers from the villages.



### INCREASE AND SUBDIVISION.

The small tenants of the joint farms increased in number in the latter part of the eighteenth century and into the first quarter of the nineteenth century in Islay, and until later in Ardnamurchan-Sunart, with illegal subdivision of holdings (contrary to leases and often producing morcellation) until arrears of rent forced the landlord to several actions or processes discussed below.

### CLEARANCE AND CONSOLIDATION.

Some tacks and joint farms were cleared of all small tenants or subtenants and the land was reorganised and consolidated into one single farm then or at some later date.

### PLANNED REDUCTION AND ENLARGEMENT.

Others were reduced in numbers of tenants by the landlord. Sometimes the consequent enlargement of each remaining or incoming tenant's holding involved official reorganisation and/or consolidation of land. In other cases unofficial reorganisation of the land took place amongst the tenants themselves. The former provided a more regular landscape; the latter an irregular one.

### REORGANISATION AND LOTTING.

Some reorganisation of single holdings had been taking place sporadically since the early eighteenth century, but the major era in which regular planning or reorganisation of the field and settlement patterns of both single holdings and groups of small holdings was in the early nineteenth century. In the case of some groups of multiple tenants this meant the consolidation of individual holdings into one piece. In Islay this reorganisation frequently omitted retention of common pasture, and instead, equiangular holdings with dispersed settlement resulted. Contrasting to this type of replanning was that more usual in the region as a whole - and characteristic of the Ardnamurchan-Sunart

peninsula - the more revolutionary lotting of the former joint farms in the form of crofting townships. These had rectangular or strip crofts individually lotted, but common grazing was still a most important feature of the new order. Unofficial and more gradual reorganisation such as in Islay resulted in less regular patterns of landholdings and settlement than in the peninsula.

#### DWINDLING AND ASSIMILATION.

Holdings under small tenants, after increase and subdivision, often in Islay, less rarely in the nineteenth century in Ardnamurchan-Sunart but more characteristic there in the twentieth century, showed later gradual decline or dwindling in numbers of tenants by emigration, celibacy and death. Their holdings became assimilated (literally 'absorbed and incorporated') without necessarily involving reorganisation, to form large holdings for some of the remaining or incoming tenants.

#### MUIR AND VILLAGE LOTMENTS.

Apart from emigration, clearance and the above methods of relieving land pressure, two other processes were used by the landlords to overcome rent arrears in the nineteenth century. One, occurring in Islay but not in Ardnamurchan-Sunart, and only found sporadically over the West Highland Region as a whole, was the setting up of industrial villages of agricultural workers or distillers or fishers or craftsmen and others, to absorb surplus land population. But in the villages milk and potatoes had to be provided for the families of these workers, and village lotments were reclaimed from muir around the villages in the early nineteenth century for this purpose. The later nineteenth century villages did not have lotments as by that time the food-stuffs could be obtained from the more specialised farms. Secondly, in Islay and in Ardnamurchan-Sunart, as over much of the West Highland Region, another characteristic feature of landholdings and settlement was the reclamation

of areas of peat muir by drainage and the application of fertiliser, especially lime or shell sand. This resulted in the regularly laid-out muir lotments, with each tenant's house on his own holding of improved land.

#### SETTLEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT.

Settlement is the term applied to the process whereby a single land-holding was split up amongst small tenants in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Resettlement applies to a holding which had once been occupied by small tenants, was subsequently cleared or dwindled in numbers of tenants to form a single holding, and then in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was resettled by small tenants. These terms are parallel to that of lotting and reorganisation.

#### AMALGAMATION.

In the later nineteenth century and through the twentieth century, the process of amalgamating single small holdings or single farms into larger units was very characteristic of many areas and was a parallel continuation of the process of assimilation.

#### PLANTATION AND AFFORESTATION.

From the eighteenth century onwards these two processes, in which land is taken from agricultural or pastoral use and is planted with trees for ornamental or industrial purposes have been pursued sporadically, with especial importance in twentieth-century Sunart.

Two further terms referring in this case to population movements are frequently used when discussing evolution of landholdings patterns, and require more adequate definition.

#### MIGRATION.

Migration refers to the internal movement of population within the area concerned from one holding to another, or to a village.

EMIGRATION.

Emigration refers to movement of population from the area to one beyond whether the Lowlands of Scotland for example, or oversea.

Chapter 4. LANDHOLDERS AND LANDHOLDINGS IN ISLAY FROM THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY UNTIL THE 1830's.

Several groups of tacks or leases from Daniel Campbell of Shawfield in 1769 and his son Walter, in 1779 and 1802, are still extant for the island<sup>1</sup>. These, together with estate rentals for 1795, 1798, 1812, 1833 and sundry other estate documents, provide a fairly substantial picture of the changing numbers of large and small tenants, and methods of land organisation after the first part of the eighteenth century. Other details contained in these tacks, rentals and other estate documents refer to the improvements in agricultural organisation at the hands of Campbell of Shawfield, and will be discussed later.

Numbers and distribution of landholdings and landholders.

As in the first half of the eighteenth century, so in the second half, to even greater degree, tenant mobility was a most noticeable feature. This took place both inside the island, from township to township, or into the rising industrial villages; and beyond, to the mainland, the Lowlands of Scotland, and abroad. By the end of the century the earlier picture of tacks and joint farms is altered in many of its aspects. Most striking from a study of the evidence is the decreasing number of large areas rented by one tacksmen - by 1795 this number had become reduced to 37; and by 1798 to 32. Some of these areas had become single farms or alternatively joint farms leased to small tenants directly instead of to subtenants. In table 2 the 1798 rental shows the tenancies for the greater part of the island excluding one or two small estates not owned by Campbell of Shawfield but by relatives

32 large single tenancies  
11 medium single tenancies  
40 small single holdings - e.g. innkeeper etc.  
77 holdings farmed by groups of tenants.

Table 2 - Single and multiple tenancies in Islay 1798 (from estate rental).

1. See Sources and bibliography before Appendices.

1733

HOLDINGS with MORE THAN TWO TENANTS

(circles - clustered settlement)

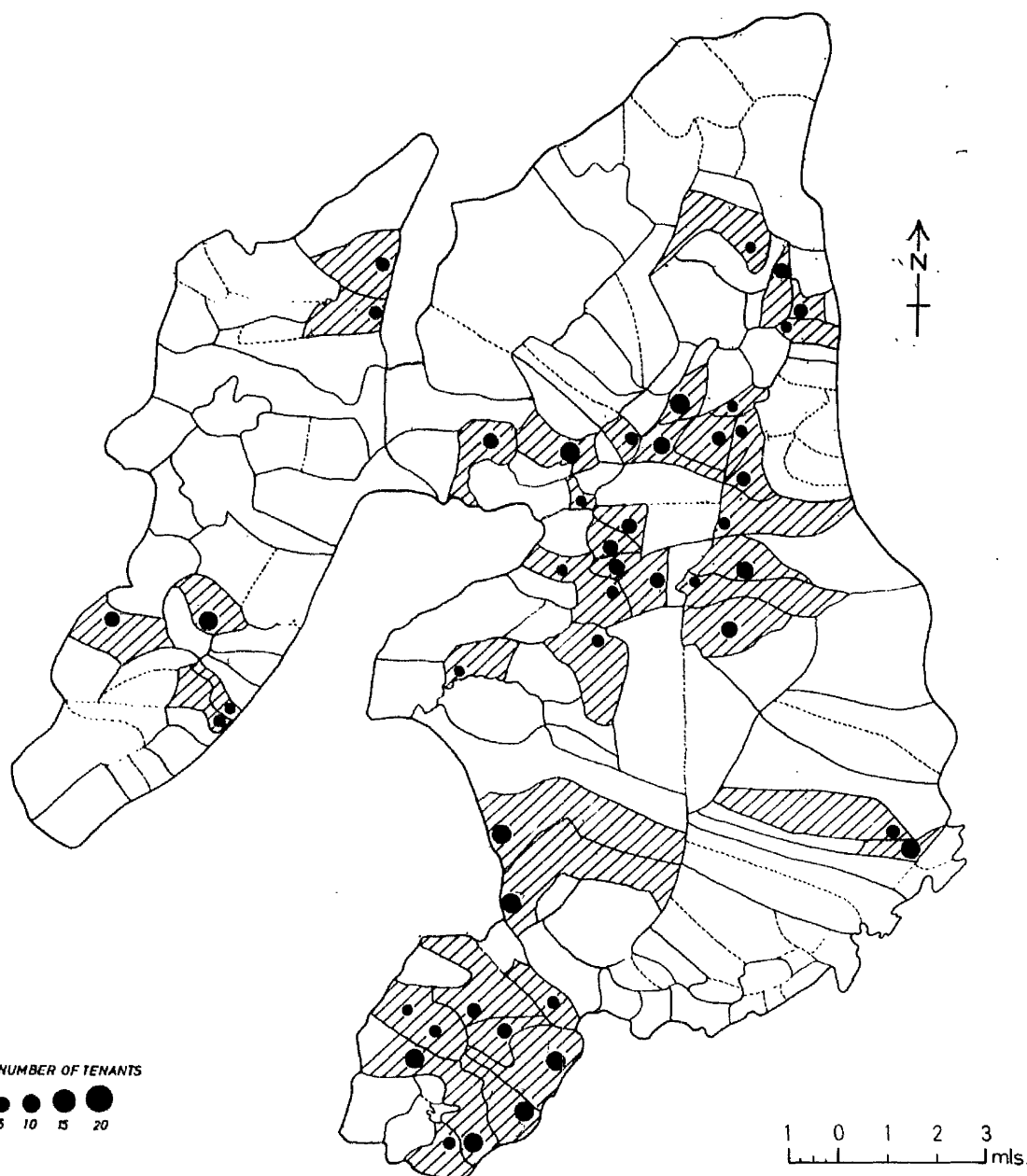


Figure 13. Single and multiple tenancies in Islay in 1733.

(Constructed from the Rental of Islay, 1733, op.cit.)

1798

HOLDINGS with more than TWO TENANTS

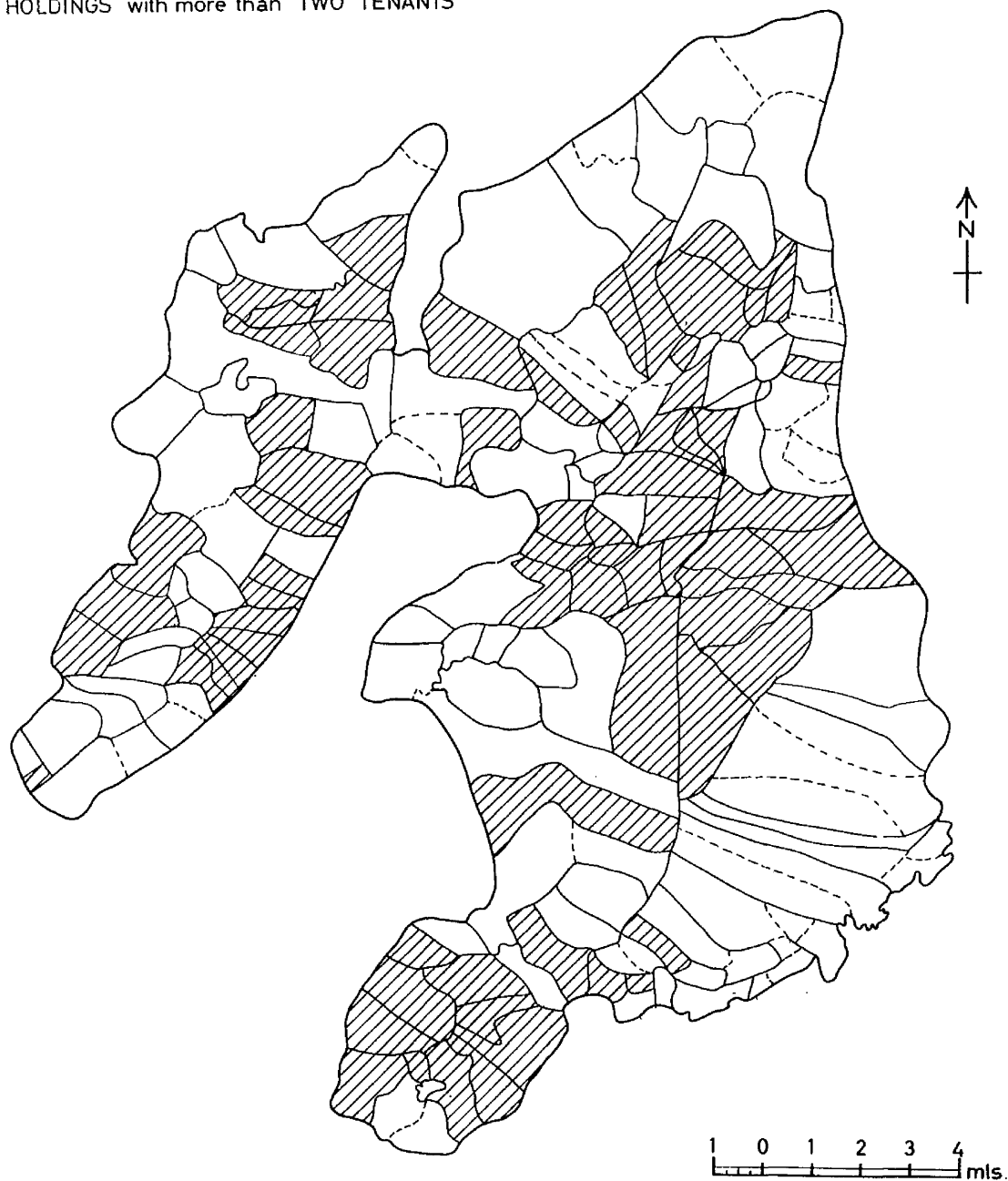


Figure 14. Single and multiple tenancies in Islay in 1798.  
(Constructed from estate rental for 1798.)

Some of the 77 groups of holdings continued to be worked jointly with perhaps unconsolidated arable holdings; but some had been separately planned into individual holdings. These changes in organisation will be more fully discussed later. Meanwhile the distribution of these various types of tenancy in 1795 is shown in figure 14. The distribution for 1733 is included in figure 13 for comparison. Large single holdings were still to be found in the remoter parts of the north-east and south-east hill masses, and in parts of the Rhinns peninsula belonging to proprietors other than Campbell of Shawfield. There were some medium and small-sized holdings near the laird's mansion at the western end of the midland valley. But the distribution of holdings with more than two tenants is seen to have intensified by the end of the century. Multiple holdings occupied almost the entire peninsula of the Oa, and much of the interior valleys of the eastern hill masses. Since the names or numbers of individual tenants in the multiple farms are not given in either the rental of 1795 or that of 1798, actual changes in the size of joint or multiple farms from 1733 cannot be studied. Some idea of the increase in numbers of tenants in these multiple holdings, over and above the actual increase in their distribution can be obtained for certain holdings for which tacks are extant for 1779 and 1802. In almost every case, after increase from 1741 onwards, there has been a further increase of about one-third in the number of tenants per small holdings between 1779 and 1802. Although tacks expressly debar illegal assignees or subtenants, with increasing population in the following two decades, sub-tenants probably increased in numbers and frequently became legal tenants in successive rentals.

The rental of 1812 shows almost identical distributions of single and multiple tenancies as that of 1798 and is not here reproduced. But as will be illustrated more fully in Section III, the numbers of small



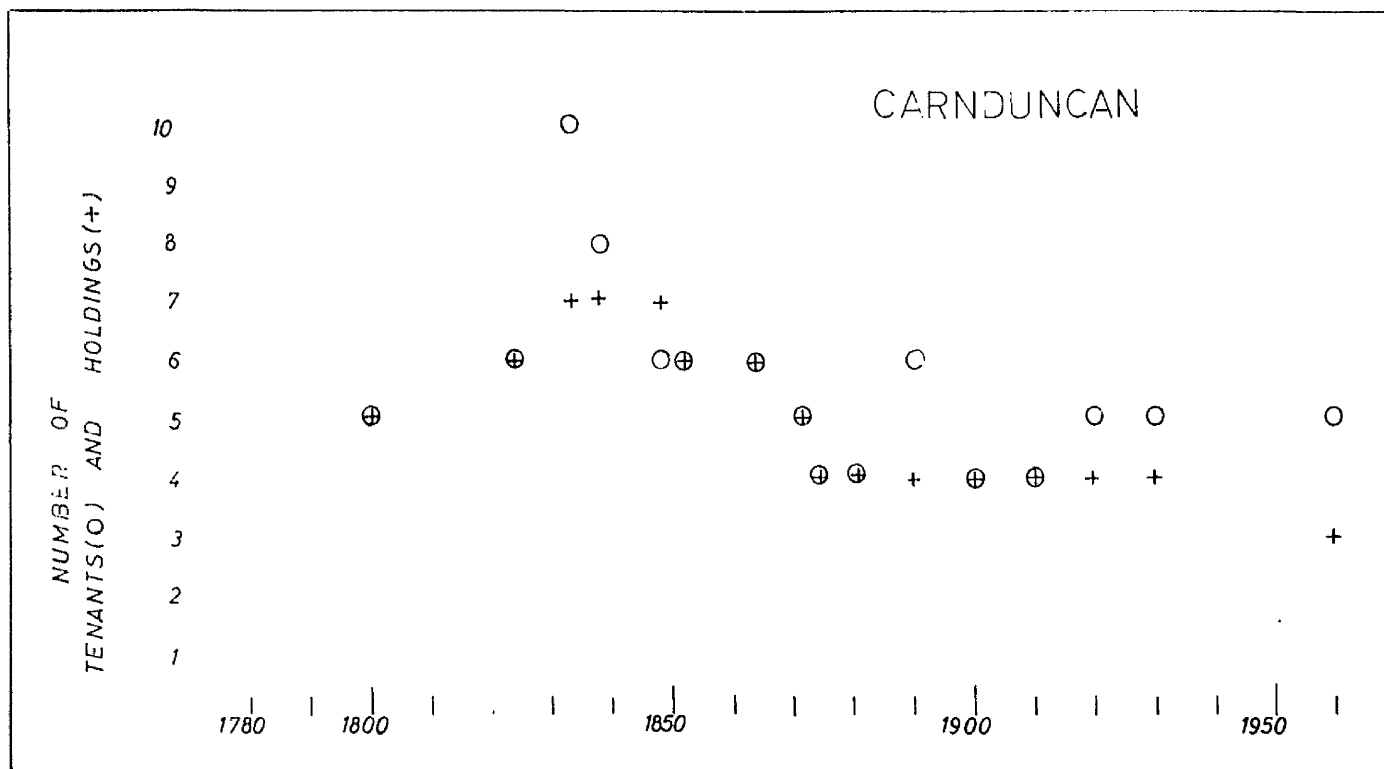


Figure 15. Tenants and holdings in Carnduncan, Islay, from 1780 to 1958, showing early nineteenth century increase of tenants, outnumbering holdings.

tenants, both in the joint farms and on the small holdings, increased considerably and at an increasing pace over the first quarter of the century, as a result of illegal subdivision of holdings (figure 15 illustrates this). That subtenants and cottars existed on landholdings as well as the official legal tenants as given in the estate rental of 1824, with the numbers of families recorded as agricultural in the published 1821 Census of Scotland (table 3). Even allowing for the inaccuracy of the Census at the time for non-landholding families working in agriculture, the discrepancy is such that many more people were working on the land as sub-tenants and cottars than are shown in the rental.

Tenants in 1824 (excluding the estates of Ballinaby and Gladaville)	670
Agricultural families (1821 Census)	1702
Difference (sub-tenants, workers and cottars)	<u>1102</u>

Table 3 - Tenants and other agricultural families in Islay  
in the 1820's.

Even despite increasing numbers however, the total number of tenants in the townships in Islay was still reasonably low, a factor which had important repercussions on further change and future evolution. By 1824,

49 tenants had large and medium-sized holdings,

20 tenants held small holdings under £20 rent, and

539 tenants occupied 95 townships.

This period was approaching the maximum of population of the island, and the number of multiple tenants is the highest to be seen on any of the rentals - details are given in table 4.

1824

HOLDINGS with MORE THAN TWO TENANTS (villages excluded)

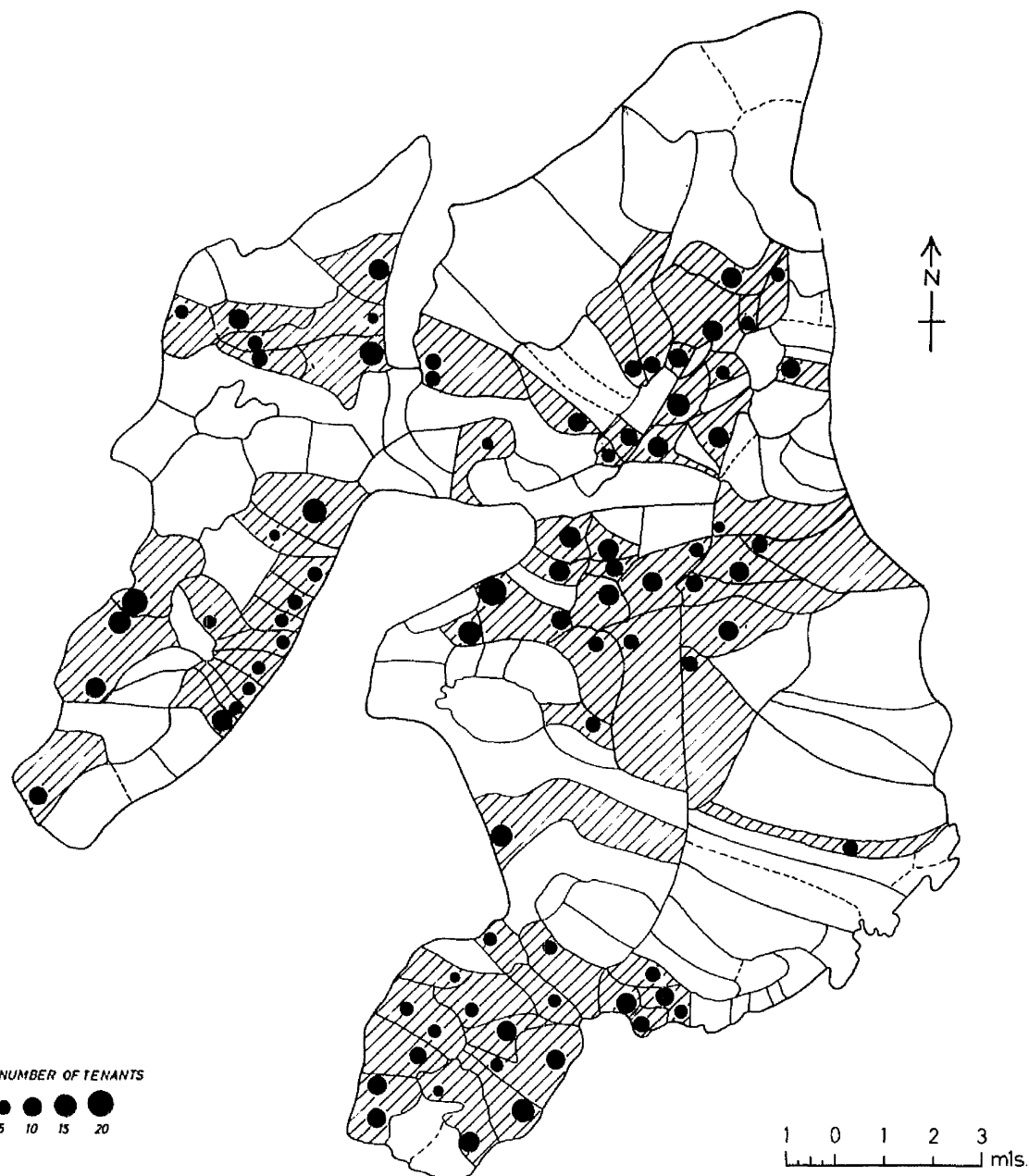


Figure 16. Single and multiple tenancies in Islay in 1824.  
(Constructed from estate rental for 1824/1825).

	<u>1824</u>	<u>1833</u>
Number of holdings with 2 tenants	17	19
3	10	15
4	19	23
5	11	7
6	7	6
7	5	6
8	7	10
9	7	3
10	6	3
11	5	4
12	2	2
13	3	(Nil)
14	-	1
15	1	1
16	-	-
17	1	1

Table 4 - Numbers of tenants in townships in 1824.

Figure 16 illustrates the landholdings situation in the island when land pressure was about at its maximum. On this account, and also as a result of a national decline in cattle prices, arrears of rent had been mounting steadily over the first quarter of the century as many surviving estate documents illustrate. By 1826, in a list of tenants heavily in arrears of rent at Whit, a postscript in the hand of Walter Frederick Campbell states 'Being as you well know, extremely distressed for money myself, I must positively request you to use all legal means to obtain payment of these enormous arrears, and from the state in which I am myself placed, although I say it with sorrow, I must insist on summonses of removal on many if not all of the above list'. This injunction was not in fact carried out at all completely but is the first indication that the island was in fact in a state of land pressure, and about to enter a period of flux and transition. The remedies for the first, and the illustrations of the others are more fully examined in subsequent chapters in which the various processes of evolution are illustrated. Essentially the changes involved a decrease in numbers of tenants on the land to enable more efficient agricultural organisation to be attempted. Despite

his monetary difficulties, the laird during this period engaged the surveyor William Gemmill to produce plans of some holdings on the island (see Sources and Bibliography before Appendices).<sup>1</sup> From these plans he was able to assess changes and improvements already wrought or capable of introduction. And it is from a close study of these maps and plans, in conjunction with the rentals of 1824, 1833, 1835 and 1838, and the factor's 'View of the Tenantry of Islay in 1832'<sup>2</sup> and 'List of Offers for Farms in 1833'<sup>3</sup> that the details of changes in landholdings and their organisation during this major period of change in Islay, are discussed in Section III.

This period between the 1820's and 1830's shows the greatest number of changes in aspect of landholdings and numbers of landholders. There was a certain degree of planning by the laird of the greater part of the island, Walter Frederick Campbell. A few clearances, considerable planned reductions in numbers of tenants in joint farms, the attempt to attract people from the land into the villages (to pursue distilling, fishing, labouring and so on), the initiation of muir reclamation schemes, all resulted in decreasing numbers of joint farms and tenants by the time of the next available rental in 1833.

- 
1. The features which these maps depict - the single newly laid-out farms around his seat at Islay House; the newly established small holdings; the continuing joint farms; the proposed village and muir lotments; all of these are discussed more fully later.
  2. The need for some degree of reorganisation of landholdings or reduction in numbers of tenants is emphasised in his comments in the 1832 View.
  3. This document also emphasises continuing tenant mobility by naming a tenant of one holding applying for the let of another. Many times the number of tenants capable of being supported on any given holding, even in the 1830's, made offers.

The corresponding figures for that year are given in table 5 -

55 large and medium-sized tenancies

23 small single tenancies, and

holdings had multiple tenants.

Table 5. Tenancies in Islay in 1833.

Whereas in 1821, 75% of the 2285 families in Islay were agricultural, of whom 30% were tenants ; in the 1831 Census the corresponding figures were 66% of 2650 families agricultural, of whom 22% were tenants.

It appears that this reduction in numbers of tenants was in some cases accompanied by official reorganisation of holdings at the instigation of the landlord - as in the case of cleared townships or reorganised groups of small holdings.<sup>1</sup> In other cases the reduced numbers of tenants, forming a fairly small total number, were able to agree unofficially amongst themselves to reorganise their holdings without drastic revolution of the field patterns or settlement distribution as in a formal reorganisation. In a few cases however the old organisation remained as numbers of tenants continued to increase with displacements from adjacent reduced or cleared townships. None of these changes were total or sudden over the whole island even in this major period of change. The relict traces of patterns of the old order of tacks and joint farms of the eighteenth century continued to exist side by side with the newer order of lairds' policies, laid-out single farms and small holdings, and unplanned reorganisation of joint tenants' holdings.

#### Land organisation and agriculture.

A closer examination of the material contained in these sources, the estate tacks or leases, rentals and maps, serves to illuminate many of the assertions on the organisation of landholdings and agriculture contained in the prolific writings of the period. These latter were at the hands of travellers, writers, agricultural improvers and others, and were to a great extent

1. Not the same as 'crofting townships' since common grazings were lacking.

extent repetitive. The following discussion on changes in organisation of landholdings and agriculture over this period from the late eighteenth century to the 1830's is limited to an examination of:-

1. Selected tacks and leases which indicate change: rentals and estate documents with mentions or indications of change.
2. Estate maps and plans.
3. Selected published references relating to the changes wrought by the advent of the Agricultural Revolution.

The three main aims of the Agricultural Revolution were carried out at different times and in different ways in the different circumstances of the north-western and south-eastern parts of the Highlands and Islands. According to Gray<sup>1</sup> the aims were (i) enclosure, (ii) consolidation of the arable, (iii) separation of agriculture from industry. For Islay, Gray says:<sup>2</sup>

'Towards the end of the seventies the dominant personality, Campbell of Shawfield, a landowner with control of most of the whole island, had driven through a complete agrarian reorganisation with the aid of a band of farmers who combined elegant manners with professional assiduity'.

This perhaps could have happened but either because of broken topography or the earlier stage at which change occurred, the lineations of the majority of the holdings remained irregular. There may have been informal interchange of strips in existing arable fields to form individual consolidated holdings, but there was not complete replanning of the field patterns, except in a few areas especially around the laird's mansion at the head of Loch Indaal.

Certainly all the writers of the late eighteenth century, wax eloquently on the agricultural improvements taking place in the island. But it appears to the writer, from an examination of the evidence available, that the improvements of enclosure, drainage, liming and rotation, took place either

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1. Gray, M. The consolidation of the Crofting System. Agric.Hist.Rev.1957, vol.V, p.31.
  2. Gray, M. The Highland Economy, 1750-1850, p.81.

on the large and medium sized farms whose tenants were encouraged by Campbell of Shawfield to set an example ; or else within the common fields of the joint farms. The common fields were probably enclosed by this time, firstly by turf, and later by stone dykes, but were seldom divided into individual holdings.

The evidence on organisation and improvements from estate sources and maps of the latter part of this period is corroborated by comments of the writers of the time. This suggests that in fact the consolidation and reorganisation of the agricultural holdings postulated as thorough by Gray was by no means complete at this time. Gray qualifies this however by saying: "the transformation was never here so radical as in Perthshire, and in the 1840s some antiquated and run-rig farming persisted".<sup>1</sup> This emphasises the picture obtained from earlier estate rentals and maps of the old and new orders of landholdings existing in Islay side by side through the period under consideration, to the forties. Or alternatively, if it had been completed early in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, say around the late 1770's, when the new leases were being considered, then subsequent population increase (even though it was less important than elsewhere in the region) had meant that by the first quarter of the nineteenth century holdings were becoming too much divided in strips. This would necessitate the remarks and remedies which were resorted to by Walter Frederick in the period between the mid-1820's and 1830's. In fact each solution appears to the writer to be true of different parts of Islay. In the latter part of the eighteenth century it seems likely that enclosure and improvement of arable and pasture-land by the tenants of medium and large holdings was copied by others in small single holdings sporadically through the island during successive decades, as well as in multiple holdings. These improvements, with the widespread reclamation of

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1. The New Statistical Account, Argyll, vol.XI. p.464.



mosses and muir during the first quarter of the nineteenth century were responsible for the glowing terms in which Islay's agriculture is reviewed by so many of the contemporaneous writers<sup>1</sup>. All through this period however there remained throughout the island sporadic remnants of the old order of arable lands internally unenclosed with pasture still grazed in common.

Population increase on Islay, though considerable, was not so great as in many of the by then remoter parts of the West Highland region. Relative nearness to the Lowlands by the end of the eighteenth century meant the continuing loss of people from the island to work there. Lack of important kelp manufacture (which in the north-west required large numbers of workers) gave no reason for the encouragement of a large labour force. These factors, together with the continuing separation of agricultural tenants from agricultural workers, craftsmen and fishermen in the villages, meant that land pressure was not so great in Islay as in many parts of the West Highland seaboard. It was not therefore so necessary to carry through reform so drastically or suddenly in the forms of clearance or the establishment of rigid and egalitarian crofting townships. In most areas in Islay, the landlord himself carried the arrears of rent of the 1820's and 1830's and tried to reduce the numbers of direct tenants on the land. He did this, not by wholesale eviction and overcrowding of adjacent townships, but by enlarging the holdings of his best tenants by adding those of recalcitrant ones. He encouraged the latter to move into the villages as agricultural workers or industrial workers. At the same time he realised the necessity of providing these villagers with lots of land on which to grow fodder for a cow's milk, and potatoes and meal for a family. This was the urge behind the reclamation of peat moss by the lotments system around each of the villages established

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1. See especially Macdonald, J. General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides or Western Isles of Scotland, 1811. Several relevant quotations from Macdonald comprise a footnote at the end of this chapter.

from 1768 (Bowmore) to the 1820's and 1830's (Port Wemyss and Portmahaven, Port Charlotte, Port Ellen). Other dispossessed tenants emigrated to the mainland and the Lowlands, as is to be seen in frequent comments in the Census of 1831.

1. Tacks and leases of 1779 and 1802. (See Sources before Appendices).

A few of the tacks of 1779 between Walter Campbell and certain multiple tenants contain specific references to reorganisation and consolidation of individual tenants' holdings. But for the majority, the older order of joint farming was more predominant at this time. The impact of the Agricultural Revolution however is seen in the improving clauses written into every tack. Extracts from one of these exquisitely hand-written leases follow:-

".....let to Neil Buchanan, Angus Brown, John Brown, Patrick Brown, and their heirs, expressly excluding and debarring assignees and subtenants, All and the whole the Quarter Land of Ballochbuie with the houses, biggings, yards, mosses, mairs, meadows, grazings, shieldings, parts, pendicles and pertinents thereof, as the same is presently possessed.....for the space and term of nineteen full and complete years.....and crofts from and after their entry thereto.....as to houses grass and pasturage at Whit 1779, and to arable at separation croft from ground.....paying to the said Walter Campbell.....the sum of Forty four pound sterling monet....bring corn to be ground at the mill, flax to be dripped at flax mills of Skerrols or Lagavulline, woollen cloth to be waulked at Skerrols.....cut peat yearly and regularly....straighten marches and exchange pieces of ground with neighbouring farms....take in and cultivate from heathy moss or coarse pasture ground a proportion amounting to 4 acres in the Quarter land yearly to be manured with lime sand or marls....also that they shall plant their potatoes yearly in new ground, which shall be considered as part of the above 4 acres and failing of their doing so shall be subject and liable in payment to the proprietor of 10/- yearly per acre short....not plough any of the meadow grounds during the last 5 years of this tack nor overcrop arable and have one-third of their winter-town lee yearly during tack....oblige four days service of 4 men and 8 horses yearly per quarter or 1/3 per diem per man.....build proportions of march dykes with neighbours....." Further clauses allow the laird to shoot, enclose, carry marl limestone, and make kelp.

Variants are expressed in tacks such as that for Teycarmigan.....

"the one Quarter land of Tighcarmigan by the proportions<sup>1</sup> following....

to Robert MacKerrol	an eight shilling worth of land
Duncan MacKerrol	a 4/- " " "
John Kerr	2/- " " "
Neil and Jas. Camerons	a 4/- worth <sup>of</sup> land equally betwixt them
Wm Gilchrist	2/-
Thos. Calder	4/-
John Campbell	4/-
Alex Johnson	4/- "

An earlier missive from Daniel Campbell of Shawfield to 4 tenants in Gruinart and one in Correry is for the lands of "Small, Migrim and Ardtornish, a 6 leorthas-ship and six shilling land with divisions as follows:-

Neil McEachern	2 leorthas and 2 shillings worth of land
Ronald McEachern	1 " 1 "
Angus McNicole	1 " 1 "
Alex McNeill	1 " 1 "
Arch. McVurrich	1 " 1 "

with houses and muirs etc. as presently possessed by any whatever possessor .....22 years from 1779.....oblige the said tenants to divide the said farm into three separate possessions within 3 years viz:

Neil and Ronald McEachern  
Angus McNicole  
Alex McNeill and Arch. McVurrich.....

houses to be built on separate possessions within 5 years".

Traces of this division in Smaill can be seen today (see figure 32a).

Again, in a tack from Walter Campbell the tenants of Sunderland in 1790 are:-

....."to build new steadings within 12 months of entry, remove 2/4 of their houses and steadings from their present situation, and in their place build proper steading of houses suitable to 1/4 of the land in that stance on the west side of Gortandon; another steading of houses on the east at Garivmeanoch."

It appears from map and field evidence today however, that this was not in fact carried out in the particular case of Sunderland at that time.

These latter leases may have been indicative of things to come since the majority of the tacks both at this time and in 1803 did not include these conditions for building and division, but left rent to be collected jointly,

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1. This does not necessarily mean allocated holdings but proportions of joint rent for which the individual was responsible.

and begged the question of whether each man had his individual holdings, enclosed or unenclosed.

Even in the 1802 tacks, the tenants of Tiervagain are "to make rent payment jointly" and "in case the said tenants or any of their foresaids shall build stone dykes or subdivisions of stone on the said lands during this tack, they shall be entitled to payment from the Proprietor of the Value of all such dykes including march dykes as they shall so build and leave in proper repair".

Rentals and other estate documents.

The rentals of 1812, 1824 and 1833 likewise show the juxtaposition of the old and new orders in the townships. The old order is illustrated in the rental of 1824 by extracts such as:

Duncan MacDiarmid.....	Storackaig..	one-third	Leorthas	worth of land
John MacDiarmid.....		one-third	Leorthas	" "
William MacEwan.....		one-third	Leorthas	" "
William Smith.....		2'		" "
Malcolm MacVorrnan.....		2'		" "
John Livingston.....		4'		" "

Alternatively, in the township of Kilslevan, eight tenants each pay equal shares of the rent for 4' lands and this may indicate reduction in numbers of tenants without individual allocation or consolidation of each tenant's holding. On the other hand, the new order of individually held possessions is indicated in the rentals of 1824 and especially of 1833. It occurs either in the form of precise fractions such as 'each tenant with one-third of the holding for his possession' or the rents may be quite without arithmetic relation to one another. Such is the case in Balliterson. There, in addition to the unequal rents for each tenant's holding, the estate maps of the time show the words written quite distinctly, 'Old possession' and 'New possession'. The latter is clearly depicted in the form of a consolidated holding as will

later be more fully discussed (see figure 30 in Section III).

The '1832 View of the Tenantry of Islay' was a list submitted by his factor to the proprietor and comprised the names of tenants who "deserve a preference for renewal or granting of lease". Later comments are added in pencil in the hand of the proprietor indicating his various wishes:-

Alex. McEath of Kinnigary 'to have his land; rent to be considered'

Mulreese - 'John McDonald Boatswain person of capital to have 2/3 at £70.  
Campbell and Currie to go to Balulive'

Ballieharvie - 'Tenants to be removed'

½ Shonghart - 'Tenants to be removed - no part of the rent paid for 1832;  
great part of 1831 unpaid too'

Torredell - 'To be let for Port Ellen' (to supply land for village lots)

Cragabus - 'Leases to be renewed to three good tenants'

Gioll and Glenastles - 'Tenants to be removed'

And throughout the View, necessitating these comments, is the factor's report of 'heavy arrears' or 'greater part of rent due' and so on. But the laird's injunctions do not appear to have been carried out in many cases and the 1833 'List of Offers for Farms' illustrates the continuing desire and pressure for land on behalf of the small tenants.

2. The estate maps of the 1820's and 1830's surveyed and drawn by Gemmill.  
(List of maps and distribution of areas covered given in Sources before Appendices).

The estate maps of the 1820's and 1830's are worthy of greater consideration especially with regard to changes in organisation of land and agriculture. The first edition of the six-inch plans for Islay, published about 1880<sup>1</sup>, records only relicts of the earlier organisation of the landscape and there have been few changes since. The earlier private maps of the 1820's and 1830's are of vital importance when studied in conjunction

1. Unlike Ireland with its early nineteenth century (Ordnance Survey plans.

with the other estate and published evidence. These estate maps surveyed and drawn under the direction of William Gemmill can be classified according to whether they show the old or the new order of landholdings, as below;

- |                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| <u>Old order</u> | 1. Tacks and large grazing farms.           |
|                  | 2. Joint farms.                             |
| <u>New order</u> | 1. Planned and reorganised single holdings. |
|                  | 2. Reorganised small holdings.              |
|                  | 3. Planned muir lot reclamation schemes.    |
|                  | 4. Planned village lotment schemes.         |

The location of examples of each of these categories is shown in Sources before the Appendices. Re-drawings of examples from each of the categories are reproduced in Section III when landholdings evolution is discussed in greater detail. The need for the maps despite the cost incurred in making them is clearly demonstrated when subsequent changes in the landholdings were made as part of the landlord's general attempt at reducing land pressure.

3. Aspects of change wrought by the Agricultural Revolution as illustrated in selected published works.

Only when the progress of the agricultural revolution through the western Highland seaboard as a whole is studied, is it possible to realise that Islay's changing aspect is so very different from much of the rest of the region, especially the remoter parts of the north-west, where changes were wrought later, more suddenly and more drastically. Even by discussing the superlative attitudes of several of the eighteenth and nineteenth century writers on Islay without specific reference to other parts of the region, it will hardly overemphasise the divergence at this time of change. This divergence has as its results in the landscape of Islay the dispersed farms and villages, with relict clachans and only a few small holdings and lotments. This is rather different from the more generally conceived Highlands one of

large grazing farms, dispersedcrofting townships and the isolated village port; or that of the Hebrides where even the first and last are comparatively rare.

One of the members of the Honorary Society for Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland founded in 1723 - was Campbell of Shawfield and the Islay, Jura and Colonsay Agricultural Society was the first to be formed in the Hebrides. Most of the agricultural writers of the earlier part of the eighteenth century emphasised the linen industry and flax-growing in the island to improve its agriculture<sup>1</sup> and according to Rev. Dr. John Walker<sup>2</sup>:

'Mr. Campbell of Shawfield with very liberal views in 1720 let all his estate in Ila in three nineteen-year leases. But in 1764 the extensive estate had undergone no improvement; the only prestation in the long leases was the sowing of flax for source of industry and advantage to the island. Leases therefore should only be given long if improvement conditions are attached.'

In 1776  
Smith states<sup>3</sup>:

'Notwithstanding that Islay is one of the best agriculturally suited places in Scotland, nevertheless the progress in agriculture is very inconsiderable since three-quarters of its surface remains in natural state. The proprietor is enquiring into the reasons for this and writes the following probable means to remove the causes of slow improvements by substituting new causes productive of new and better effects:-

'Islay is occupied by 2 classes of tenants: 1. The great or gentlemen tenants possessing several Quarterlands extending to 3/4000 acres and upwards. They mind husbandry very little, only the yearly sett of these large farms to a sett of poor people whom they call their farmers. 2. The small tenants 4, 5, 6 or 8 of them enjoying a Quarterland promiscuously amongst them. The manner of holdings the proprietor is determined to alter. With regard to the first class

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1. See for example, Fussell and Fyrth. Eighteenth century Scottish Agricultural Writings. Hist. 1950. Vol. XXV, p.49.
  2. Walker, J. An Oeconomical History of the Hebrides, 1808.
  3. Smith, G.G. The Book of Islay, p.469.

of tenants each is only to enjoy such an extent of land as may rationally fall under cognizance and management of a good improver. With regard to the second class or small tenants their farms are to be new modelled, each to have an establishment for himself and to occupy individually. But as these cannot be carried into execution till expiry of the current leases, that circumstance becomes the chief and principal argument for delaying sett till expiry of current leases (Shawfield has lately granted nineteen-year leases for part of the estate of Islay from Whit 1768, part not commencing till Whit 1779, the time when all his tacks of the Argyllshire estate expires. Extent of lands which then become open or out of tack amount to 92,000 acres besides Jura).

Although John Smith<sup>1</sup> excludes any specific mention of the islands, apart from short summaries from the Statistical Accounts, he mentions two generalisations which are apposite to conditions in Islay. "In Argyle, enclosures are still possessions of proprietors only. Separate holdings exist on the Duke of Argyll's estates". Some qualification of this statement is necessary with regard at least to parts of Islay, but the prevailing attitude to lack of enclosure is probably equally characteristic of parts of Islay not in the hands of large tenant farmers. He adds, "In this country there are, properly speaking, no commons, but the open state of much of the country and mode of occupying farms by a number of small tenants conjointly may be considered as little better though the Duke of Argyll has been changing this system for some time back, and giving each tenant his own share separately and granting improving leases." This may provide evidence for previous remarks about the lack of easily recognisable commons in Islay, substantiating the theory that in fact each holding split up early into (?family) groups each with its own part of the muir such as in Conisby or Garnduncan today, or in Corsapool or Stremnishmore in the past.

Even in the leases for 1769, Daniel Campbell of Shawfield made no clause for improvements. The leases of 1779 however saw the introduction of

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1. Smith, J. General View of the Agriculture of the County of Argyle, with Observations on the means of its improvement, 1798.



improving clauses, and by the turn of the century, several writers, formerly Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates in 1745, and therefore interested in estate management, were noting the resultant improvements in the island. The main exponents in the first decade of the nineteenth century were Walker and Anderson<sup>1</sup>. Margaret Adam<sup>2</sup> mentions:

'The most zealous improver of all, Campbell of Shawfield', owner of 'one of the Highland districts which compared most favourably with the Lowlands, e.g. Kintyre and Islay, where not only geographical conditions are most favourable, but where the Lowland example of big farms with substantial tenants, often of Lowland blood, had been followed most extensively.'

Campbell of Shawfield at first employed '100 labourers all the year round' in initiating his improvement schemes<sup>3</sup>. He realised that the solution of the Highland Problem of too many people on the land lay not only in changing farming methods or estate management but also in the creation of employment other than agrarian. With this in mind the village of Bowmore was the first planned village in the Hebrides designed to accommodate day labourers, craftsmen and industrial workers.

The writer of the Old Statistical Account<sup>4</sup> for the Parish of Killarow and Kilmeny in the year 1794 states, 'Mr. Campbell....spends £700 to £1000 per year on improvements'. Contrary to this however is the minister of Kildalton parish who writes, 'Only a small part of this parish is enclosed though plenty of stones are available'. On the other hand it is the superlative aspects of the improved parts of the island which attract more

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1. Anderson, J. An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides, 1785.

2. Adam, M.I. Eighteenth Century Highland Landlords and the Poverty Problem. Scot. Hist. Rev. 1921, vol.19, p.1.

3. So also did McNeill of the neighbouring island of Colonsay.

4. Old Statistical Account, vol.XI, 298 et seq.

attention. James Anderson<sup>1</sup> in 1795 writes:-

'No person can at present imagine the degree of improvement that the isles could admit of....entirely neglected hitherto except for the island of Islay which has been for a few years under the care of a judicious proprietor who has studied to augment his own revenue by promoting the prosperity of his people. There is scarce another point beyond the Mull of Cantire that seems to have begun to be improved except small parts of South Uist'.

That this progress continued for almost another twenty years is borne out by R. Fraser in 1803<sup>2</sup>. After quoting the above remarks by Anderson he says, "This account was nearly twenty years ago; it has been going on ever since in an accelerated ratio in every kind of improvement". The fullest record of the agricultural situation and changes in Islay and the other Hebrides is that of James MacDonald<sup>3</sup>. He says of Islay about 1811, "Islay is the most improved of all the large Hebrides and as leader and model of the other isles deserves particular attention." From MacDonald it is seen that many of the improving ideas of enclosure, land organisation and reclamation, had been carried out in parts of Islay especially by the tenants of the larger farms. But it is also seen that these changes were discontinuous in space, and gradual in time. This is further illustrated in the writings of the next thirty years or so. Old and new methods of land organisation and agriculture continued to exist side by side until the mid-nineteenth century, in contrast to the revolutionised grazing and crofting landscape of much of the rest of the western seaboard.

The next chronological and relevant source of information on the

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1. Anderson, James. Op. cit. p.145.

2. Fraser, R. A letter....containing an Inquiry into the most effectual means of improvement on the....Western Isles.....1803.

3. MacDonald, J. Op. cit. p.612. For further details see footnote at end of this chapter.

progress or evolution of the agricultural landscape in Islay is that of Lord Teignmouth in his tours of 1827 and 1829. Of Islay he states<sup>1</sup>:-

"The produce of this island has been greatly augmented by the partial introduction of the Lowland system of cultivation. The value of the estate of Sunderland, chiefly moss covered formerly by the sea, has been tripled over the same period. Mr. Walter Campbell drained the moss at a cost of 1/- per acre, ploughed it, sprinkled seasand on it and with the aid of lime and seaweed which is abundant, brought it to yield both grain and excellent pasture". (This relates to the earlier portion of the last quarter of the eighteenth century). "The system of runrig still prevails in Islay; much of the land on the frequented shore of Loch Indaal is held under this tenure; the divisions are frequently held only by rows of weeds; the singular custom still prevails of mutually exchanging the lots once in three years. The practice of subletting is also retained producing its usual mischievous effects."

These remarks refer to the very time of Walter Frederick's own statement of financial difficulties which necessitated the period of more pronounced and planned change. This period was probably the most revolutionary that Islay ever suffered though once again it must be stressed that it was not sudden, particularly drastic or anything like complete in any one part of the island.

The elements of change between the time of the 1824 rental and the end of the 1830's are summarised below, and more fully described and exemplified in Section III.

1. Complete clearance of multiple tenants to make way for one large farm. This only took place in a few places in Islay. Some of the tenants moved into adjoining townships or new villages; others migrated to the Lowlands or North America.

2. Reduction in numbers as in Lossit Rhinns. In 1824 there were eleven tenants in Lossit, whilst by 1833 there were only six, each paying equal shares of the rent. Of the holdings which were reduced in numbers

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1. Lord Teignmouth. Sketches of the Coasts and Islands of Scotland and Man, 1836, vol II, p.303.

and individually increased in size, some were later cleared in the 1830's; others dwindled in numbers gradually by emigration, celibacy or death and were either later cleared or continued to dwindle in numbers to form a single farm or a group of small holdings.

3. Many of the multiple holdings however continued to increase in numbers of direct tenants in the period 1824 to 1833, and subsequently were either reduced in numbers or continued to increase into the 1840's when clearance, reduction or gradual dwindling took place.

4. In the early part of the nineteenth century land had been reclaimed from moss around the two village ports or Port Wemyss and Bowmore, and in the 1820's and 1830's further reclamation of lots took place in these areas. At the same time reclamation continued for the new villages of Port Ellen, Port Charlotte and Portnahaven, (see figures 39 and 40).

5. In addition a new venture took place in Islay to alleviate land pressure - the setting up of muir lots for reclamation by tenants displaced from townships. Such schemes were at Lyrabus Kilchoman; Glenegisdale, Glenmachrie, Terra and Duich. The last four consisted of parts of former townships or tacks on the almost flat peat plain west of the south-eastern hill mass, and consisted of grid-iron patterned square blocks of peat land requiring drainage, liming and continual improvement (see figure 41).

Summing up the formative elements in the aspect of landholdings in Islay up till this time, it is seen that an earlier introduction of Lowlands ideas and practices was made; there was little rigid and revolutionary clearance and/or establishment of regularly lotted crofting townships either at the end of the eighteenth century or early nineteenth century as is exemplified in Ardnamurchan, Trotternish or the Outer Hebrides later in the nineteenth century. Perhaps the advance of the Agricultural Revolution

in Islay may be looked upon as a double wave -

(i) The eighteenth century phase, especially during the latter decades, when a great deal of agricultural improvement involving enclosure, some reorganisation and consolidation took place in different parts of the island, and

(ii) The first three decades of the nineteenth century, especially the second and third, which formed the major period of reorganisation. The results of this period of change have given many parts of the landscape in Islay their present character, with little further change. This second wave was different in degree and result from the main wave of the Agricultural Revolution which only reached the greater part of the west Highland seaboard suddenly at certain times in the first half of the nineteenth century<sup>1</sup>. In Islay the changes were not areally complete at this time, and continued in still gradual fashion thereafter.

The following extracts referring to the state of agriculture in the island of Islay in the early nineteenth century were written by James Macdonald in his "General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides or Western Isles of Scotland", London, 1811:-

"One-seventh of the surface (22,000 acres) is in regular or occasional tillage, 3/7 hill pasture, 2/7 rugged mountain lakes and 1/7 unimproved but improvable moors and moss. Population has doubled and stock quadrupled in the past 60 years. Mr. Campbell of Shawfield (grandson of the original Daniel Campbell of Shawfield) is proprietor of the whole island except for two farms belonging to Mr. Campbell of Ballinaby, (the Sunderland estate in 1788). The present proprietor's rent in 1779 was £2,700 but is now £11,000 without a shilling of arrears. Thirty years ago", (1780's), "green crops and sown grasses were unknown and very little natural hay was made for winter use. At present every tenant makes as much hay as supports his stock in winter and has not only potatoes, cabbage, meal in abundance for his family, but often sells corn and potatoes and feeds his cattle better....so that

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1. With the exception of much of Kintyre, where the Duke of Argyll had applied the principles of the Revolution in the late eighteenth century. For details see Smith, J. General View of the Agriculture of the County of Argyle, 1795.

they are ready earlier for export, and indeed can be exported all the year round. Most of the gentlemen farmers have turnips, ryegrass and clovers in great perfection and the smaller tenants are anxious to follow their example. Cultivation of wheat until lately was not thought of in Islay but Mr. Campbell and other tenants now raise considerable quantities of summer and spring wheat for which the proprietor has built a £1,200 flour mill. Several thousand bolls of potatoes and much barley are exported" (the latter to Kintyre for distillation). "But the staple commodity of Islay is linen yarn, much manufactured and used in Islay. The quantity of kelp made here is not so great for 200 miles of shore, but the tide does not rise above 6 or 8 feet." (About a 16-foot range was necessary for favourable growth). "Mr. Campbell receives one-third of the market price of the article and pays one-third of the freight charge. Horses have been exported in considerable numbers of late (c.200 per year) to Irish dealers while black cattle form the staple export of Islay, constituting the greater part of the wealth of the island. The gentlemen farmers", he estimates, "have two-thirds of the cattle on the island. Several thousand are exported annually. There are no sheep farms in Islay strictly and there are also not enough sheep to supply the island with wool and mutton, so much wool is imported". This is in great contrast to most other parts of the western seaboard and the southern fringes of the Highlands where over a long period almost every area suffered clearances for sheep and cattle farms (e.g. Ardnamurchan). Another different feature in Islay is MacDonald's reference to "hogs being reared in great numbers."

He continues; "Mr. Campbell of Shawfield is father to his people. He has built flourishing villages of slated houses and gardens plus five to ten acres share in many hundred acres around the villages of Bowmore and Portnahaven which are to be reclaimed from the wild ... a few years ago peat mosses were not worth 6d. an acre of rent, but are now covered with flourishing crops of various kinds regularly subdivided and enclosed, and now rented at £2. These villages accommodate day labourers and tradesmen and thus conduce to benefit agriculture in a manner sufficiently obvious.... It is to be regretted that in Islay the Government has done nothing to promote improvements carried on by the patriotic and enlightened proprietor who has done much but also cannot do everything. The unparalleled increase in population renders adoption of some manufacturing plans necessary for though the proprietor sacrifices considerable rise of rents and essential improvement of the island and of peoples to the dictates of humanity which prevent his turning off men that he cannot accommodate with the lands in a way consistent with his general system; it is impossible for him to maintain hundreds of families destitute of room and regular employment. Campbell of Shawfield resides at Islay House for three or four months every year and never manifests a tendency to rigour or oppression. But the superiority of Islay to the great mass of the Hebrides must have owed its existence also to some steady systematic management regularly followed out, as well as to liberal and humane dispositions of him. His management is essentially different from that of most Hebridean proprietors except for instance McNeill of Colonsay...and has therefore produced very different results."

MacDonald then provides a list of features in which Campbell of Shawfield's mode of management has had happiest effects. Unfortunately however he makes no reference at this juncture to the manner in which holdings are organised - perhaps this indicates that the old iniquitous system was not

prevalent to great degree-....and states that rents depend more on the circumstances of the land than on the extent of the surface, the most common criterion for rent being the number of cows plus young stock supported, e.g. for each milk cow and followers the gentlemen pay £3.10; £2.0.0. for the small tenants. Of neighbouring Jura he says: "the great desideratum in Jura is inclosures implying a subdivision and regular appropriation of lands among the tenantry", which may be a further indication of how far the new order had been installed in Islay.

A summary of MacDonald's list of ways in which Shawfield's management differed is given below:

1. Spends a large share of his income and farms own land as an example.
2. 19-year leases to all tenants large and small
3. Gives moderate rent to good men
4. Compensates at end of lease to outgoing tenant for houses walls dykes drains and other improvements
5. Helps improve breeding stock seeds new crops and tools
6. Suppresses smuggling and illicit distillation
7. Promotes establishment of fairs and markets and direct communications with the Lowlands of Scotland...a weekly packet (50/60 tons) sails from Port Askaig to Tarbert in Kintyre for letters newspapers and passengers. Two regular packets trade between Bowmore and Greenock all the year round, very very important to Islay.
8. Roads throughout the island very good.
9. Villages and mills built.
10. Attends to moral and religious improvement of people and attends to the poor.

He then adds: "Shawfield has always distinguished himself as the first of the Hebridean improvers. Campbell of Ballinaby is fast improving both soft peat moss and hard hill ground. Many farmers of excellent conduct afford evidence of the same spirit of agricultural improvement - especially Messrs. McGibbon, MacKay, Crawford, Campbell (Ardmore) and other Campbells. The state of prosperity in the Hebrides depends more on the landlord's disposition than on any circumstances connected with the state of the country or property. Every improvement of consequence which has been effected in the Hebrides owed its origin and success to some spirited and intelligent proprietor who resided frequently on the estate." (Writer's emphasis). "The state of agriculture too essentially depends on the tenure of lands. The models of Hebridean industry among proprietors are Islay Colonsay Coll and Gigha. In certain estates in other areas tacksmen have been instrumental in keeping back improvement except for example Shawfield, who has about thirty gentlemen farmers on the island and most of the improvements in the Queen of the Hebrides is done by them - they combine all useful qualifications of first-rate low country farmers - there are no arrears ever due on Islay. The size of the farms in Islay which must in this as well as in many other respects be regarded as one of the leading larger islands, equal to that of well managed estates in other parts of Scotland - the tacksmen's farms £50 to £200; tenants £7 to £20. The system of subletting to subtenants £2 to £7 has largely been dropped in Islay." Of enclosures,

the first of the improvements necessary in any area, he says, "In Arran, Islay, Jura, Mull, Skye and the Long Island there are 800,000 acres of land destitute of fences. Shawfield grants full amelioration to every farmer on Islay estate who builds stone dyke or enclosure and encourages complete subdivision and enclosing - the necessity of enclosure and the impracticability of carrying on any agricultural improvements without this step is emphasised."

Of reduction in numbers of people on the land, he says, "In Islay alone one finds hired day labourers with houses and gardens in the villages. Campbell of Shawfield employs 50 to 80 day labourers constantly by the day (£8 per annum) and each has an allotment for potatoes, cows, horse, flax and hay. But despite this several parts of Islay, Mull, Arran, Trotternish, Tiree, Coll, as well as all of the Outer Hebrides are overpeopled." He quotes a comparison of the numbers of inhabitants with the rent of the land - in Islay, Colonsay and Gigha, the average inhabitant corresponds to 30/- rent per year; in the Hebrides as a whole to 23/-; in Berwick 120/-. Alternatively he quotes the average rent per Scotch acre for all the islands at 1/4d; for Islay 1/10d; and for Lewis three farthings.



Chapter 5. LANDHOLDINGS AND LANDHOLDERS IN ISLAY FROM THE 1830's ONWARDS.

Numbers and distributions of landholdings and landholders.

From a study of the rentals of 1835, 1843, 1848 and 1852, the decline in numbers of holdings with more than two tenants started in the period about the 1830's and continued gradually as shown in table 6.

	<u>1833/5</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1848</u>	<u>1852</u>
Large and medium single holdings	55	60	62	83
Small single holdings	23	13+	14+	15+
Holdings with more than two tenants)	95	90	75	65
Number of tenants in these holdings	539	432	380	305

Table 6. Changing numbers of tenancies and tenants.

(Muir and village lots have been omitted).

As well as the gradual decline in the number of holdings with more than two tenants and the gradual decline in the numbers of multiple tenants, there is also a decrease in the number of tenants per holding as shown in table 7.

	<u>1843</u>	<u>1848</u>	<u>1853</u>
Holdings with 2 tenants	24	18	10
3	14	9	15
4	14	10	11
5	10	11	10
6	6	3	7
7	2	9	2
8	9	5	4
9	4	4	3
10	3	4	2
11	2	1	1
12	1	-	-
13	2	-	-
14	1	1	-

Table 7. Number of tenants in multiple tenancies 1843, 1848, 1853, in Islay.

This corresponds with the start of the waning of the clachan's importance as the predominant settlement form.

Figures 17 and 18 illustrate this gradual decrease in multiple holdings and their tenants, with concurrent increase in number of single holdings.

The decreasing numbers of tenants was paralleled by the increasing size of each individual's holding. A rough idea of this can be gleaned from table 8 which shows the percentage of tenants paying various categories of rent for 1824, 1835 and 1848. Rents for the later years have been equalised as rental increased.

<u>Equalised Rent</u>	<u>Percentage of tenants</u>		
	<u>1824</u>	<u>1833</u>	<u>1848</u>
Up to £5	6.3%	7.2	7.9
Up to 10	34.5	29.1	27.4
19.19	38.5	36.2	35.2
20 - 49.19	15.1	16.3	22.2
50 - 99.19	1.7	7.9	3.4
100- 499.19	3.9	2.9	3.6
500 and over	0.0	0.4	0.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0
	-622 tenants	-594 tenants	-382 tenants

Table 8. Percentage of tenants paying certain rents (equalised).

It is emphasised that the multiple holdings did not necessarily indicate the old joint farms, but were groups of tenants more likely by this time to be working their own holdings gradually consolidated from neighbours' strips, as the neighbours dwindled in numbers by migration, emigration, celibacy and death. There still remained a few areas where holdings were not consolidated in one piece however.

In Islay already by the 1835 and 1838 rentals, as by the 1831 Census, the total number of agricultural tenants and families were decreasing generally though in a few small areas they were still increasing. The 1841 Select Committee received a report in 1837<sup>1</sup> from their Commissioner Graham,

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1. Report from Committees, 1841, Third Volume, Report 182, p.25.

who stated in 1837:

"I decided that I should not be justified in remaining long in the southern part of the country because the country to the north is much more severely affected. Information has been received that in Appin, Lorn, Argyll, Cowal and Cantyre proprietors would be found able and willing to support their poor on the lands without any aid from the Government. This includes Islay. Some of the poorer people in Arran and Islay would require to be supported, also Jura and Colonsay. But unless a general plan was devised of giving relief to the whole country, not necessary to give anything to these localities because the people connected with them were sure to sustain the inhabitants. Report on Islay - comparatively fertile island believed to be in fully as good a state as to provisions as Arran (where the Duke of Hamilton has ordered a sum of money to give support) and the great proprietor there has the character of being at all times disposed to attend to his people's wants. Owing to his liberality and to the exertion of his principal tenants in affording employment, no public assistance will be required".

Graham continues:

"the Committee sent to Islay some 576 bolls of meal and 90 barrels of potatoes.....Mr. Campbell has given donations and exertions in giving meal and work but there are still many inhabitants especially in Bowmore parish in state of extreme misery. Mr. Campbell could give more but the Committee think it right to send some supplies to Islay just to aid Mr. Campbell in his generous exertions."

But when compared to reports of most other areas the destitution and poverty on the land and in the villages in Islay was nowhere near so great as in most other parts of the western seaboard, and the policy or event of the gradual thinning out of the agricultural population had saved the island from the most extreme land pressure and subsequent dependence on the potato for food. So again the remedy was not so drastic. Instead of clearance and forced emigration as in Trotternish in the period 1840-1850, and in the 1860's, in Islay, migration to the villages, and emigration to the Lowlands, was much more characteristic from the 1830's to 1860's. This decline was most noticeable in the midland valley, south-east hillmass and the Oa. Occasionally in Killarow parish and in one or two other parts, a type of clearance of several small tenants to make way for one moderate sized farm did take place in the 1840's and 1850's and even sporadically later.

A few years after some of the changes of clearance, reduction in numbers of tenants and replanning of the holdings had taken place at Walter Frederick's direction, a somewhat brighter picture of the island emerges from accounts given in 1838 by Allan Fullerton and Charles Baird. Their remarks<sup>1</sup> were written at a time when difficulties of harvest of corn and especially of potatoes were already beginning to be felt; yet they state rather categorically that:

"the soil of Islay (an island which for centuries has deservedly been nominated the Queen of the Hebrides and which as to its peculiar capabilities may be said to stand quite alone) rests on a bed of limestone. From this favourable circumstance and that of its being entirely in the hands of a few enlightened men, this island is undergoing very great and important improvements."

Note should be made here of the phrase 'is undergoing'. They continue:

"Under the able superintendence of Mr. Chiene the factor, and Mr. Webster the overseer for Mr. Campbell of Islay, the rural system of the best agricultural districts in the low country has been extensively introduced" -- again the qualification. "Independently of what has been done and is still doing by the principal proprietor and his uncle Mr. Campbell of Sunderland who during the greater part of the year resides in the island is making (as indeed he has made for many years past) the most meretricious exertions not only to improve and augment the productive powers of the soil but by holding out to them every species of encouragement to raise his tenantry and dependents to a state of mental culture and improvement to which we lament to say that even to the present day, the greater part of the Highland population have unhappily been strangers..... Yet, rich as the soil is and much as has been done to improve it, the state of a large proportion of the population is still very wretched, though under the present liberal and judicious system of management much amendment ere long may be expected..... The subtletting system had prevailed to a considerable extent in Islay but it is now in the course of being put an end to."

This again emphasises the increase of population and subdivision of perhaps earlier consolidated holdings as well as those never consolidated and underlines the necessity for the changes of the 1830's and after.

That the island was still in a state of change into the forties and later is borne out by a study of further estate documents and from the

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1. Fullerton, A. and Baird, C.R. Remarks on the Evils at present affecting the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 1838.

accounts of the ministers who wrote the New Statistical Account in 1845.

The revised Report of the Parish of Kilchoman 1844<sup>1</sup> states: c. 612. p. 12.

"Farms are generally leased to a number of tenants living in one spot, cultivating the arable on the runrig system and grazing pasture land in common; a change in this system is being effected though it will endure to the end of the current leases since some parties do not agree to making regular subdivision."

Again the writer of the Kildalton Parish Account says of the parish in 1844<sup>2</sup>....."the principal obstacles to improvement...subdivision of the land, and want of enclosure."

This evidence in Islay that there was some early enclosure and consolidation in certain townships and tacks, followed by sporadic and gradual change with a renewed intensity in the period between 1824 and 1833,<sup>with</sup> continuing gradual change thereafter, is in direct contrast to Trotternish, for example. There, according to MacSween<sup>3</sup>,

"the process of dividing the runrig farms into crofting townships was begun in 1811 when twentyeight townships comprising 274 crofts were established. Of the remaining 30 tenancies under small tenants only 12 were still in runrig in 1830 and it seems certain that few survived the following decade."

An account of the manner in which this sudden revolution came about in Trotternish follows the above remarks. Further,

"the bedrock egalitarianism of the crofting system as instituted in Trotternish in which the stratified society of the older joint farms was obliterated...was scarcely conducive to agricultural progress."

Summing up, he states:

"the abolition of run-rig in Trotternish was largely accomplished in 1811, save where it was proposed to unite several joint farms to sheep walks. Three main trends of policy are discernible in the pattern emerging;

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1. New Statistical Account. Vol.VII, p.644.

2. ibid p.645.

3. MacSween, M.D. B. Litt.thesis, op. cit., chap. 8.

- a. the desire to encourage fishing and helping by placing large populations on minute holdings in favourable coastal locations;
- b. the desire to improve and reclaim portions of the estate by means of letting the least desirable portions of it;
- c. the creation of larger crofts in some of the more fertile farms with the ultimate object of placing these townships under single tenants.

Although since the aims of the estate policy were often ill-defined and confused it is seldom easy to recognise the operation of any of the above trends by itself, the degree of overlap was considerable." Moreover "reorganisation of farms took place at a time when population was both concentrating and increasing" and this "led inevitably to subdivision of the original holdings....already near the minimum levels of adequate subsistence."

MacSween says, "in general straight lines exercised a considerable fascination for the landscape planner and the resultant pattern of fields and settlement (dispersed from old clachans to predominantly linear)...is an obviously planned landscape."

This sudden revolution of landscape and settlement with its regular and planned appearance was also recognisable in some of the Outer Hebrides such as North Uist where it occurred in 1814<sup>1</sup>. In Ardnamurchan-Sunart the landscape was revolutionised over a slightly longer period, mainly during the first half, and especially the second quarter of the nineteenth century, as, for example, also in Lewis. But the result of this more prolonged change was the same in terms of regularisation of the land and settlement patterns. The more gradual aspect of change in Islay is also unlike many parts of the Lowlands. There earlier in the eighteenth century, revolution of the landscape had often occurred much more completely and suddenly<sup>2</sup>. Or again, in the relatively close Kintyre and Galloway, parts of the mainland of Argyll, sheep farming was established by clearance of tenants, many of whom moved

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1. Meisley, H.A. N.Uist in 1799. Scot. Geog. Mag., 1961, vol.77, p.89.

2. See bibliography under Lebon, Third and Geddes.

1835

HOLDINGS with MORE THAN TWO TENANTS (villages excluded)

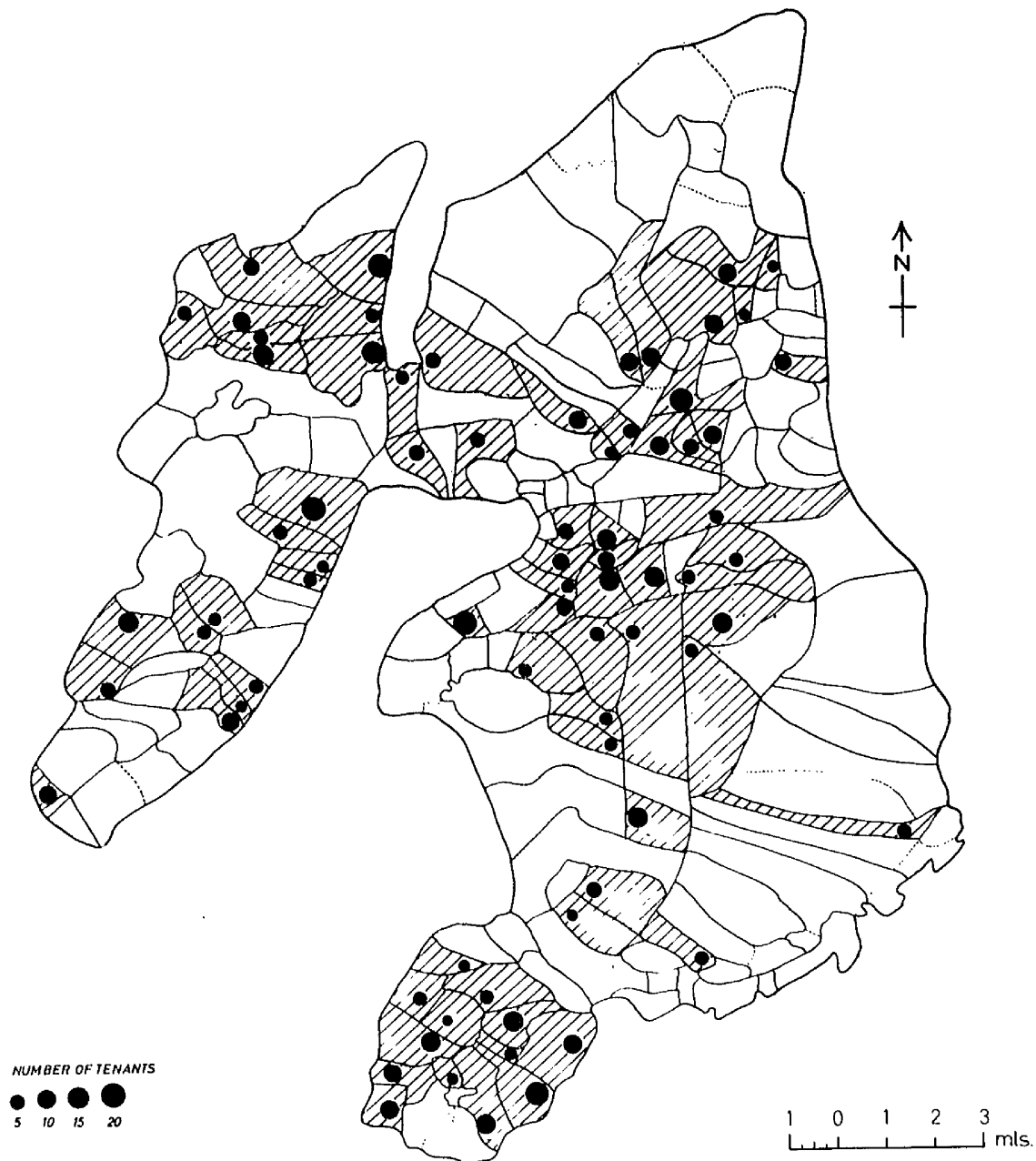


Figure 17. Single and multiple tenancies in Islay in 1835.  
(Constructed from estate rental for 1835.)

1848

HOLDINGS with MORE THAN TWO TENANTS (villages excluded)

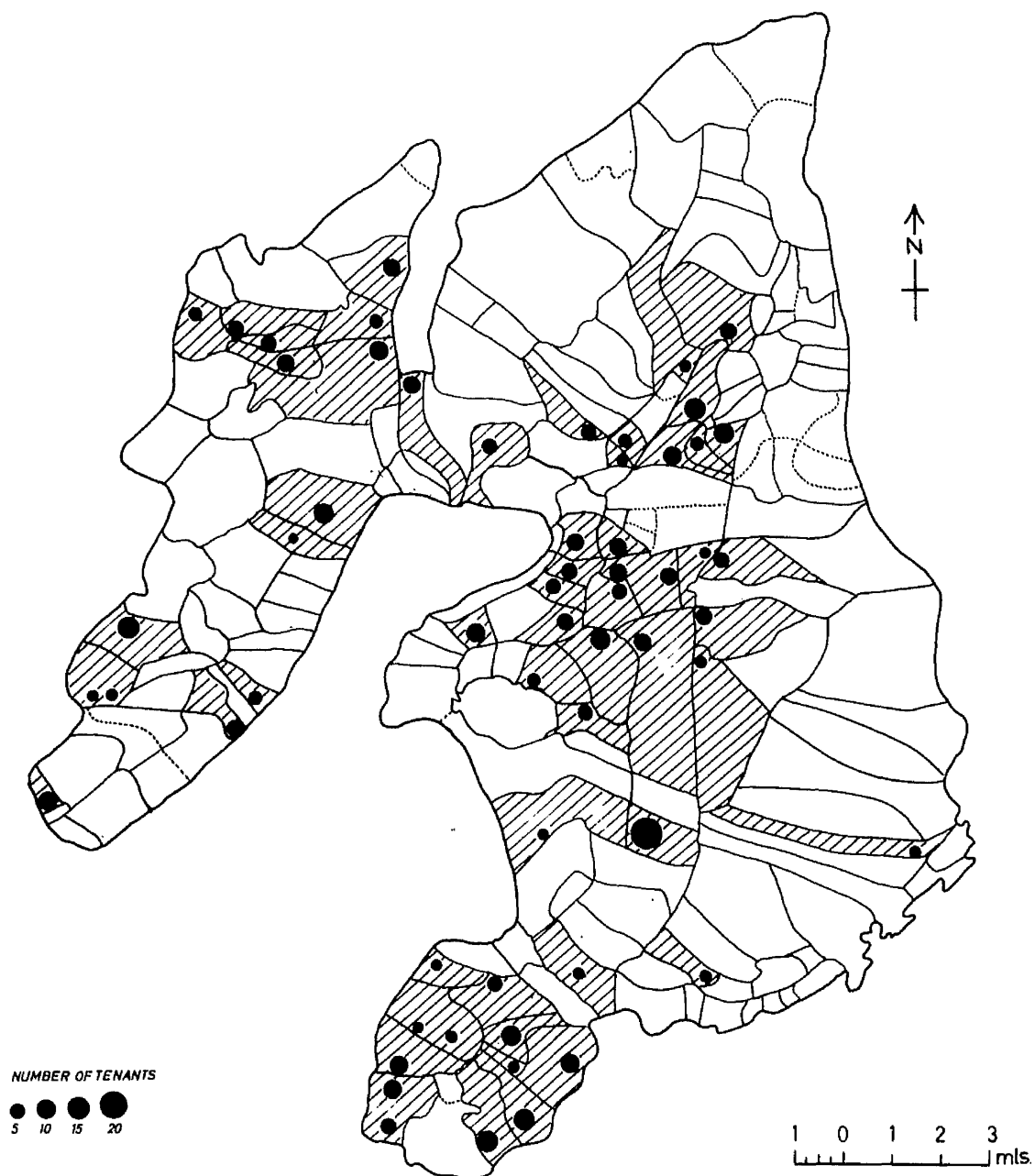


Figure 18. Holdings in Islay with more than two tenants in 1848. Holdings not shaded are single farms. (Constructed from published rental for 1848.)



relatively easily to Glasgow and the other Lowlands industrial centres.

In Islay changes took place over a much longer period of time. It is postulated that there it was begun earlier, pursued less radically, and overlapped to a certain extent a second fresh wave of reorganisation, all spread over half a century. The main legacy has been a much less rigid pattern of holdings and settlements to the present day. It is possible that the more prolonged and gradual evolution is comparable to that of the southern fringes of the Highlands in districts where sheep farming did not take a great hold - such is the evidence at present being investigated from archaeological and documentary evidence by Fairhurst<sup>1</sup> for the clachans and holdings at Lix in Perthshire.

By 1848 Campbell of Shawfield's estate was put into the hands of the Trustees and the 1852 Rental is that of the Commissioners appointed by the Trustees to administer the estate. Thereafter the estate was sold in separate pieces and surviving estate documents refer to the new Islay estate belonging to Charles Morrison, Esq., much of which estate still remains in the hands of the Morrison family; and the Kildalton estate of John Ramsay, which has subsequently been further broken up in the twentieth century. So far as is known there is little extant estate material for the other parts of the island owned by many different landlords. Through the twentieth century this lack has become more and more noticeable, and the only sources available which cover the whole island are the Valuation Rolls, published by the County Councils from 1851 onwards and the first and second edition of the Ordnance Survey six-inch maps of the 1880's and 1900's. Only a few sporadic estate maps belonging to the new Islay estate exist for

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1. Fairhurst, H. Scottish Clachans. Scot. Geog. Mag., 1960, vol.76, No.2, p.67.

the second part of the nineteenth century, mainly concerned with the villages and distilleries, and with new buildings on farms.

From such estate material as does remain, together with the Valuation Rolls and maps, it is possible to trace the continued gradual decline in numbers of holdings with more than two tenants, and in the numbers of tenants. Both of these trends were especially noticeable in the two main areas which had undergone least change of all at the earlier periods of reorganisation, especially during the one between the 1820's and 1830's. These were the interior valleys of the north-eastern and especially of the south-eastern hill-masses, and in the peninsula of the Oa. As will later be discussed, the third quarter of the nineteenth century saw the dwindling numbers of tenants in these areas by celibacy, death, and emigration to the Lowlands for economic advancement. This was the period when the majority of the ruined dwellings in these areas came into being. Especially in the Oa, there was another factor operating. This was the aided emigration from the peninsula to North America. This emigration started in the fourth decade of the century but did not reach its maximum development until after mid-century. In successive rentals for the peninsula which are still extant, the names of many tenants are seen to be missing, only to be filled in when reading a list of names of former tenants who were visited in Canada by John Ramsay in 1870<sup>1</sup>. This landlord had not only encouraged these people to leave their holdings on the island to make it possible to reorganise them in more efficient manner, but he had given considerable financial help as well. He followed up his suggestion by going out to Canada before and after his tenants, and in his list almost every holding in the Oa and the area immediately around

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1. Ramsay, J. Diary of a trip to America, 1870.

1863

HOLDINGS with more than TWO TENANTS (villages excluded)

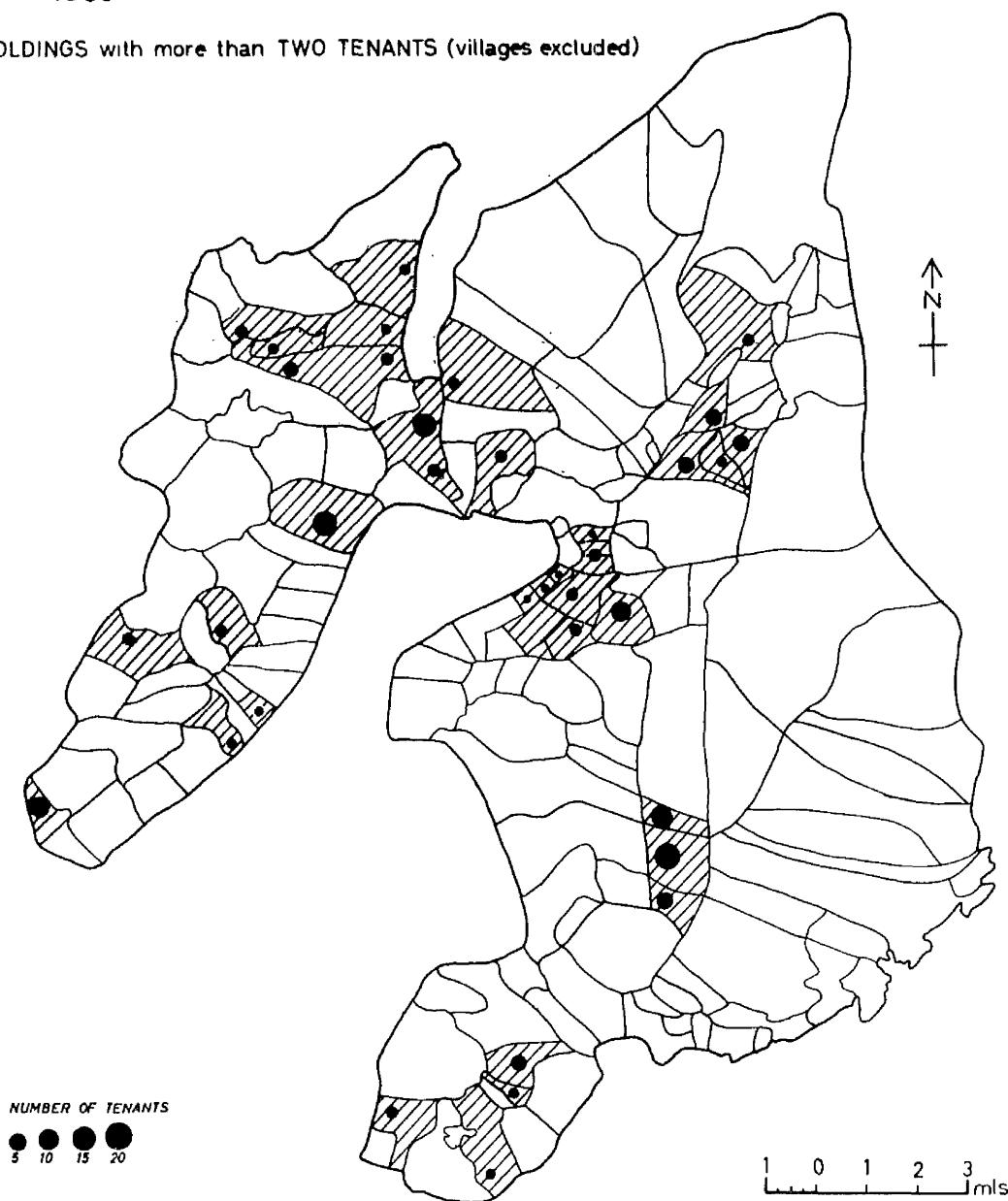


Figure 19. Holdings in Islay with more than two tenants in 1863.

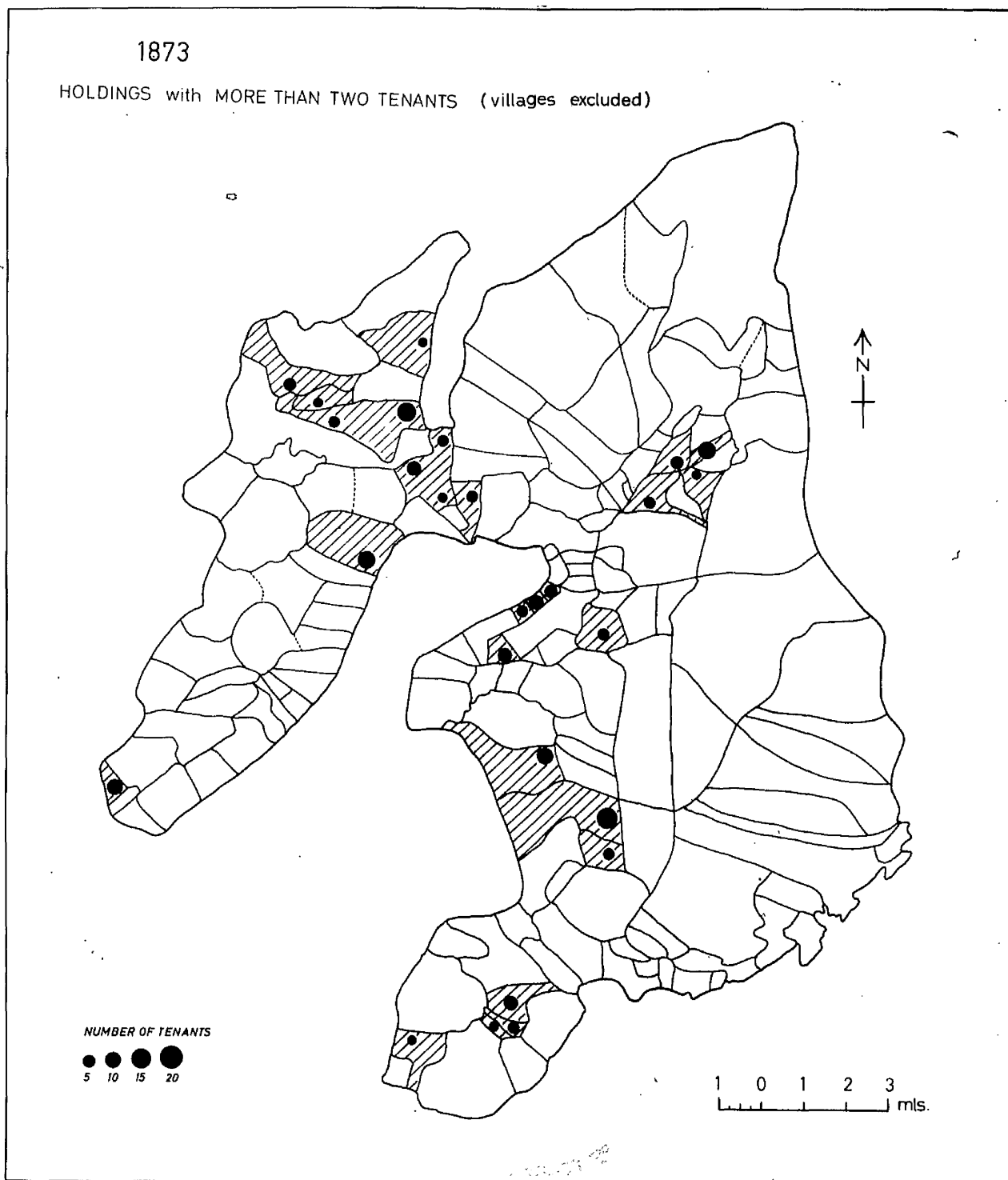


Figure 20. Holdings in Islay with more than two tenants, 1873.

Port Ellen, is mentioned as the former place of residence of several tenants. This was not the recourse resorted to by the other estates on the island, and the major decline of small holders in the interior valleys of the eastern hill masses was accounted for by migration to the villages on the island as well as considerable emigration to the Lowlands of Scotland. Figures 19 and 20 show the further dwindling in numbers of holdings with more than two tenants between 1863 and 1873. There has been only little change since, as will be examined in Chapters 9 and 10.

At the end of the period in only a few areas in Islay, mainly in the by then unsatisfactory village lots, was there any need for the Royal Commissions of the 1880's and 1890's enquiring into conditions in the Crofting Counties<sup>1</sup> to investigate land pressure problems. This was in direct contrast to the areas settled as crofting townships in many parts of the western seaboard earlier in the century. In these latter areas, the original unsatisfactory size of the individual holdings in the crofting townships was made less by further subdivision and partial reliance on kelp and fishing as part-time occupations and sources of livelihood. Further complications were the recurring clearances of townships throughout the nineteenth century. By the latter part of the century land pressure and congestion had reached such a degree that once again fairly drastic methods of reorganisation had to be used. So, from the 1880's onwards, and especially thereafter, there were in many parts of the western seaboard, settlement and resettlement schemes wherein large areas of grazing farms were settled in the form of crofting townships of frequently too small holdings. Some of the earliest of these were for example, the fishing settlements of Barra (see Appendix 3); or more especially the agricultural settlements in the Outer Hebrides

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1. Royal Commission of Enquiry into the Conditions of Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 1884.  
2. Royal Commission (Highlands and Islands), 1892.

1960

HOLDINGS with more than TWO TENANTS

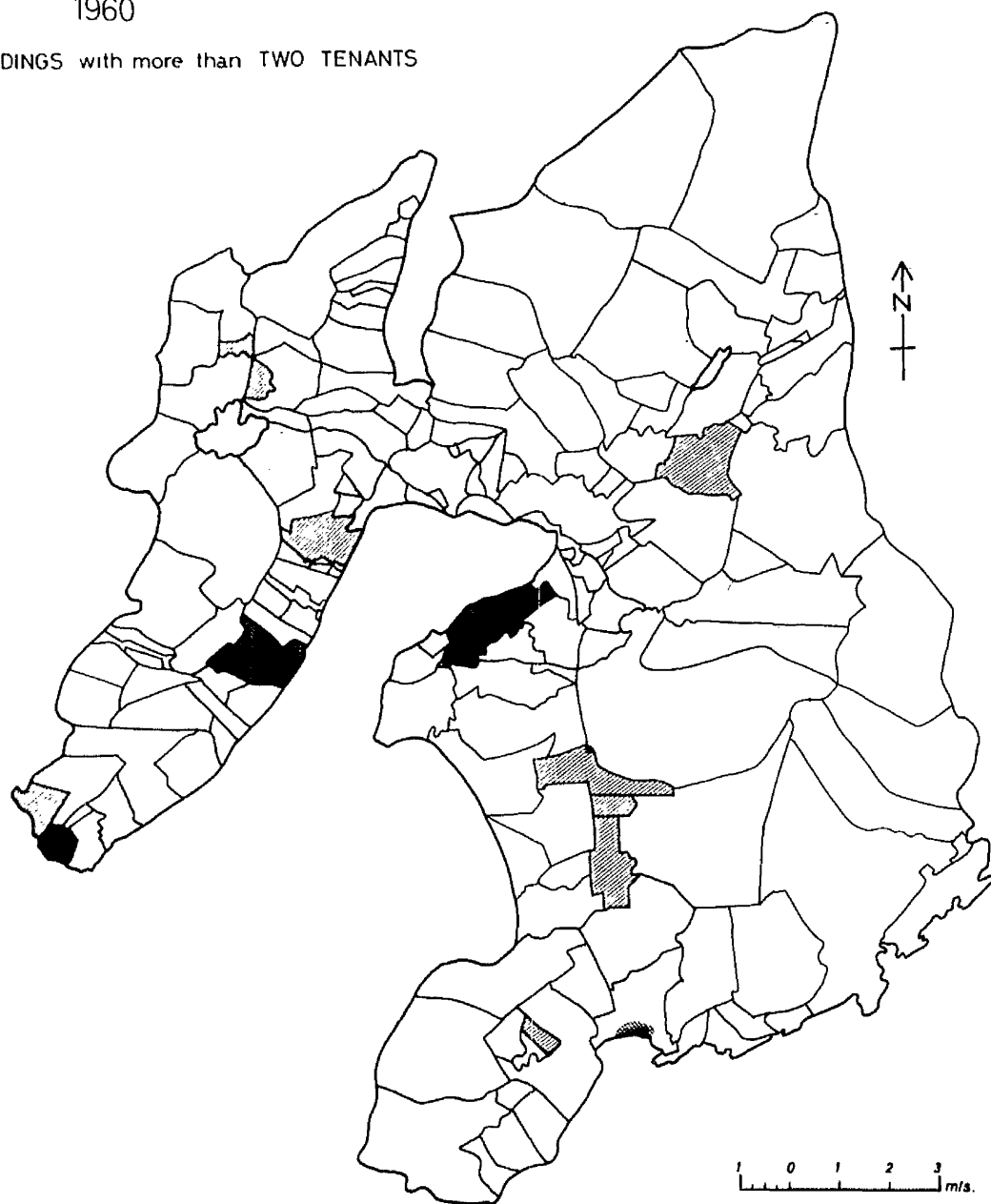


Figure 21.. Holdings in Islay with more than two tenants in 1960.

and in Ardnamurchan and Sunart.

In Islay there was little settlement or resettlement during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Only a few areas were settled during and after the First World War such as additions made to some of the village lots of Port Wemyss and Port Charlotte. Small holdings were made out of the two farms of Gladville and Ballinomy in the Rhinns. But, aided still by nearness to the Lowlands for permanent emigration for economic betterment, the trend in Islay towards assimilation and amalgamation has continued; and most of the settlement schemes have reverted or are reverting to single units once more.

Figure 21 shows the organisation of landholdings in Islay in 1960 with only a few holdings of more than two tenants, apart from the village lotments.

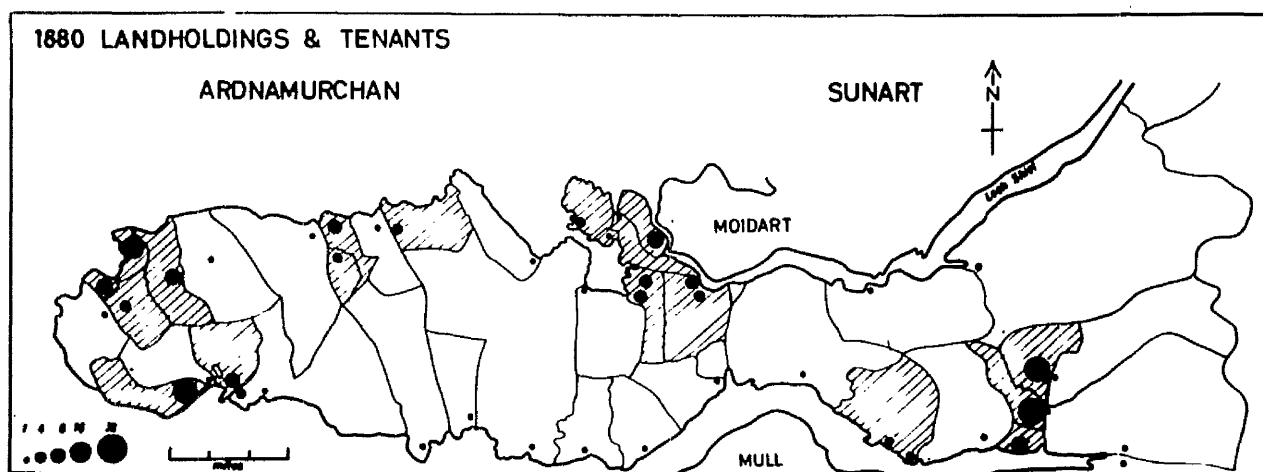
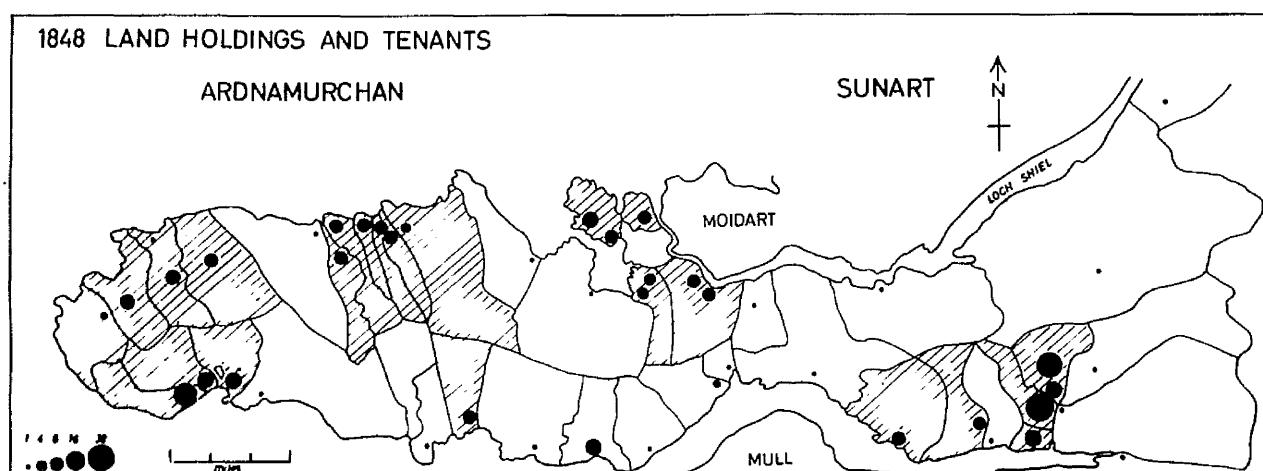
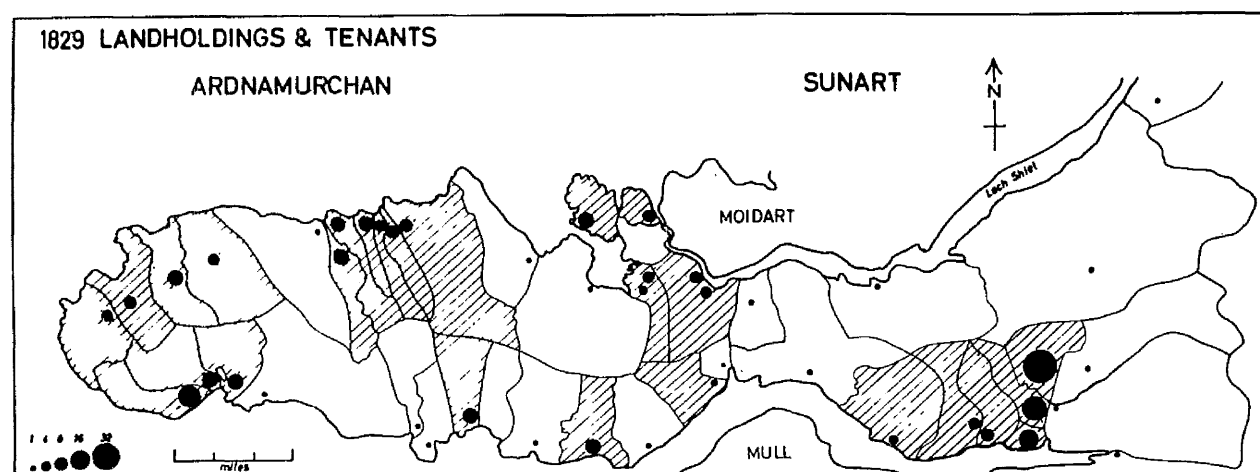


Figure 22. Single and multiple tenancies in Ardnamurchan-Sunart.

22a. 1829.

22b. 1848.

22c. 1880.



Chapter 6. EFFECTS OF THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION SINCE THE BEGINNING  
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN ARDNAMURCHAN AND SUNART.

Evolutionary and gradual changes, with elements of revolutionary and sudden change were characteristic of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in Islay. In Ardnamurchan and Sunart this aspect of gradual change has mainly been a late nineteenth and twentieth century phenomenon, and the revolution more characteristic of the West Highland Region in general occurred in the peninsula during the first half of the eighteenth century. It was neither so sudden nor so drastic as e.g. in Trotternish or North Uist/ but the effect was the same. By the middle of the century large grazing farms separated newly laid out crofting townships, and there was an almost complete lack of non-agricultural villages. These changes had their parallels in different patterns of settlement, changing from the ubiquitous clachans of the tacks and joint farms to the vast areas of sparse population on the large grazing farms and sporting estates between which were interspersed small areas of loosely dispersed settlements in the new crofting townships. In time, the clusters became either totally or partially ruined, and there are only a few remnants of the old order of clachans at the present day.

By a comparison of figures 22a to 22c showing landholdings and numbers of tenants in Ardnamurchan and Sunart compiled from rentals of 1829, 1848, and 1880, the changes noted from figure 12b (showing the distribution of tacks and joint farms in 1807), are mainly the increasing number of single farms and sporting estates and the decreasing areas held by small tenants. The two major periods of change were around the 1820's to 1830's, and around and after 1850. The changes involved clearance of some

joint farms and the establishment of regular lotted townships. Side by side with these changes, mainly the results of sudden and revolutionary change, were the internal rearrangements of joint farms to form lotted crofting townships with decreasing numbers of tenants, and loose dispersal of settlements. Unfortunately, unlike Islay, for which few plans existed for the island before agricultural changes, but for which many indicators of change are seen on plans of the 1820's and 1830's, there are no estate maps known to the author for Ardnamurchan and Sunart after that of Bald in 1807, when few of the changes which affect the landscape of holdings and their utilisation had taken place. The available extant documentary evidence is also less complete for the peninsula but several valuable estate documents help in tracing the evolution of holdings in the peninsula during the two most formative periods. The rental of 1829 and the factor's notebook of 1834 together with the relevant volumes of the New Statistical Account, the estate rentals and valuations for decades after 1850, the Census of Scotland volumes from 1841 to 1891, and reports of Commissioners into Crofting Conditions and of the Scottish Land Court, all help to trace the evolution. Where the landscape itself has posed questions unanswered by any of the foregoing sources, the answers have sometimes been filled in by field work, study of air photographs and inference backwards in time.

The 1829 rental besides showing tenants' names and rents due, contains many relevant comments on the situation of landholdings and changes which have taken place or which are in the process of being effected since the comments in Alexander Low's Valuation of 1807. The early clearances on the east side of Bon Hiant are indicated by the mention of one "tenant, an excellent manager of sheep stock" in the former townships of Tornamoany, Bourblaige and Mingary. Changes in the townships too are remarked on in

phrases such as "Part of the crofts (of Scotstown) were remodelled last year". Of Ranachanstrone, the factor's hand writes "this farm is divided and three houses are in progress." Again, of Acharacle he says "the crofts have been newly arranged and a lease given. Enclosures and temporary houses have commenced." Reduction in numbers of tenants on the joint farms is also mentioned, as well as farms such as Shielfoot which "requires some new arrangement." Further discussion and illustration of the changes effected by this time in the joint farms of the peninsula is made in the section dealing with the processes at work and the resultant changes effected.

The factor's notebook of 1834 contains further information on the changes and demonstrates further clearances of the western townships around Ben Hiant, as well as remarks as to size and stock-carrying capacity of the holdings large and small; improvements carried out recently; and the best future use to which the land can be put. Change in the attitude of mind of the proprietor and his factor is clearly seen in the recurrence of phrases such as "Good sheep walk" indicating the general feeling over much of the north-western part of the Highlands at the time. Again "the allotment system is slow under restrictive practices. Could the mines be put into operation again it would be a great source of employment to many." This is the first written statement confirming the trend of overpopulation and land congestion. This had resulted from failure of kelp manufacturing prices and fishing which had set in train accumulations of rent arrears and attempted remedies such as clearance or lotting for reduced numbers of tenants. The factor states for 1834 "The only remedy for this overpopulation is:

1. to purge the rent roll whether crofter or joint or single tenant if in arrears,
2. to encourage emigration,
3. to select suitable places for settling the remainder of the crofters, e.g. the Moss of Kentra between Acharacle and Shielbridge

where the moss is so thin that an immediate crop may be obtained with little more than ordinary digging. There is plenty of limestone in the parish."

This report of the factor in 1834 contains information on the capabilities of the tenants as agriculturalists as well as rent payers and in many ways compares with the 1832 "View of the Tenantry" submitted to Walter Frederick Campbell in Islay by his factor, when the estate was in need of change and reorganisation. But in the peninsula the different ways in which this change took effect were essentially due to combinations of four factors - those of the different degree of isolation; different natural and improvable environment; presence or absence of early nineteenth century kelp manufacturing; and the presence or absence in the island and peninsula respectively of non-agricultural villages. For in these latter, recalcitrant tenants in arrears of agricultural rent could be housed, whilst reorganisation of remaining reduced numbers of small tenants' holdings could take place. In Ardnamurchan and Sunart the population maintained in the clachans on the joint farms was greater relatively in the first half of the nineteenth century than it had been in Islay. This was due to greater isolation from the Lowlands for temporary and permanent emigration for work; to the later and much more sudden introduction of the ideas of the agricultural revolution which could not easily work in areas where population pressure was too high; and to the lack of a distinctive laird's policy of separating agriculture and industry by setting up villages. In Islay, holdings were often gradually reorganised by the small numbers of joint tenants in the township. In the peninsula, however, this was not so easy. Kelp prices had helped to support an increasing population. When prices failed in the 1820's, population numbers were far higher than the land alone could support. The more sudden aspects of revolution in clearance of townships for farms, and in lotting

of other townships for reduced numbers of tenants were the remedies to which the landlords had eventually to resort, forced by greater amounts of arrears per head of population. Perhaps due to a similar lack of capital the landlord had not set up villages for fishers, miners and others as had been done in Islay. On the other hand the bases for such villages were not so sound as in Islay at first. Nor was there the opportunity for villages of non-landholding day-labourers since much of the peninsula consisted of large grazing farms needing only a few shepherds, and very few arable areas.

From the time of the factor's reports in 1834 two policies were pursued thereafter. Tenants were cleared from townships on the estate either to new landholdings to be created out of moss or to part-time holdings for fishers and miners. Townships were lotted into crofts of a minimum size to support a family at the time. These policies were pursued with greater suddenness and precision than almost anywhere, or at any time, in Islay. But the resulting patterns were much more characteristic of the Highlands and Islands as a whole. The early clearances were paralleled after 1850 by the clearance of the Swordle farms of Swordlechorrach, Swordlemore and Swordlehuel in the north of Ardnamurchan; and later by clearances of other townships for farms and sporting estates. Displaced tenants were settled on new small holdings on the coast near fishing grounds, e.g. Sanna and P'ueirk or on muirs for reclamation as at Newton and Kentra. Others moved into adjacent townships and some emigrated. In the remaining townships, partly due to overcrowding and subdivision from the kelp boom, and from later clearances nearby, reduction in numbers of tenants again took place especially after 1850. Then reorganisation or lotting of holdings, in the pattern characteristic of crofting townships throughout the West Highland Region in the nineteenth century, was directed by the

factor for the estate which by this time had fallen into the hands of trustees. Most of the landholdings of Ardnamurchan (Sunart with its large areas of grazing farms and early lotted townships did not change much) had been revolutionised in one way or the other by the end of the third quarter of the nineteenth century although there remained one or two townships in the western end of the peninsula in Ardnamurchan which until the twentieth century retained their mode of organisation of runrig strips in the improved land, sometimes fixed, sometimes periodic (e.g. Achnaha) and their clachan form of settlement. In general however the early clusters had given way to loosely linear dispersed populations in the townships, and single dispersed farmhouses on the large farms, with large areas of land empty of settlement between the two elements.

The later nineteenth century and the twentieth century in the peninsula have mainly seen the process of dwindling numbers of tenants and assimilation or amalgamation of single tenant's holdings by his neighbours taking place along with increasing numbers of unoccupied or ruined buildings so characteristic of nineteenth century Islay. The only changes, otherwise, in the aspect of landholdings and landholders have been in the settlement schemes of small holders on lands formerly townships, cleared in the nineteenth century. These were returned to small tenants as larger agricultural holdings during and just after the First World War. Large areas, especially in Sunart, were also taken over by the Forestry Commission. Ardnamurchan and Sunart, during the twentieth century, have fallen into the hands of several different proprietors and many of the large farms in Ardnamurchan are owner-occupied whilst those in Sunart are rented from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland. In the townships, the small size of the crofts and their sometimes fragmented nature result from the late and more drastic introduction of the ideas of the Agricultural Revolution with the result that full agricultural

utilisation of the land is not possible until a further and more complete revolution involving renewed reorganisation of holdings into units of economic size can be undertaken - perhaps at the instigation of, or under the powers of the Crofters Commission<sup>1</sup>. This aspect of the pattern of landholdings affecting degree of land utilisation will be discussed more fully in section III, when details of the evolution of the townships and their present-day patterns are studied. Attachment to, and one's right to land, in a West Highland crofting township, even where holdings are too small to attract incoming tenants, hinder optimum land utilisation at present.

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1. Under powers granted by the Crofters (Scotland) Act, 1961.

III. THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION AND AFTER.

Chapter 7. THE PROCESSES OF EVOLUTION. PARTICULAR SINGLE PROCESSES OF EVOLUTION OF LANDHOLDINGS PATTERNS IN ISLAY AND ARDNAMURCHAN-SUNART.

The main aim in the following section is to discuss for both areas the various ways or processes by which the old order of tacks and joint farms with clachans gave way to the more varied aspect of landholdings comprising several elements. In some holdings a particular process occurred only once in the development of the present-day pattern, such as clearance, whilst in others more than one process or parallel repetition of a single one, have occurred. The difference between the patterns of the Islay evolution and the Ardnamurchan-Sunart revolution is essentially due to the time at which and over which the changes took place: the same processes occurred in both areas but with differing degrees of emphasis and effectiveness at different times. In Islay processes of evolution were fairly gradual and did not affect any one large area at any one period; in Ardnamurchan-Sunart however, revolutionary processes were more characteristic. Illustrations of these processes of evolution of the landholdings and landscape at work, singly, then in multiple, form the bases of the following two chapters. Examples are taken from both Islay and Ardnamurchan-Sunart.

The method of studying the processes of evolution in landholding, from the sources mentioned earlier, was as follows. For most holdings in Islay and Ardnamurchan-Sunart, a complete schedule was prepared incorporating information from published and unpublished written and map sources, as well as information from air photographs, fieldwork and questionnaires. Thus for Islay, nine foolscap sheets were completed for each of the holdings excluding



village allotments, containing information as shown in Appendix 4.

Close scrutiny of the information contained on these sheets for any one holding, by itself or in comparison with others, led to a determination of the processes involved in evolution from the eighteenth century onwards. This could frequently be illustrated more simply by a straightforward diagram showing changing tenants' names and landholdings (e.g. figure 26). Often even the names could be omitted and even more simple diagrams constructed showing mainly changing numbers of tenants, but these have not been included here. Tenancy diagrams are not sufficient in themselves in studying processes but indicate changes in the organisation of the holdings which could then be verified by examination of maps of the time or of a later date, of air photographs, and of other written material. In the following pages referring to processes of evolution in Islay and Ardnamurchan and Sunart, the diagrams showing changes of tenants, of tenancies and rents have been accompanied where possible or obtainable by reproductions or redrawings of maps, published and unpublished, as well as by references to other relevant information. Although the immediate aim of this section is to illustrate the processes involved in the evolution of landholdings, this latter has frequently been accompanied by changes in distribution and density of settlement. In all examples in which it has been possible to use illustrative maps, settlement is included though more detailed examination of its changing distribution, density and form with associated population patterns, will not be discussed until later in section IV.

The resultant effects on the landscape of the processes of evolution are frequently seen unchanged in the landscape of the present day and frequently this latter aspect has been included for comparison. In other cases where there was multiplication or parallel repetition of processes the





Figure 23a. Stephen MacDougall's map of Coull in 1749. Enclosures and improved areas of the tack are indicated.

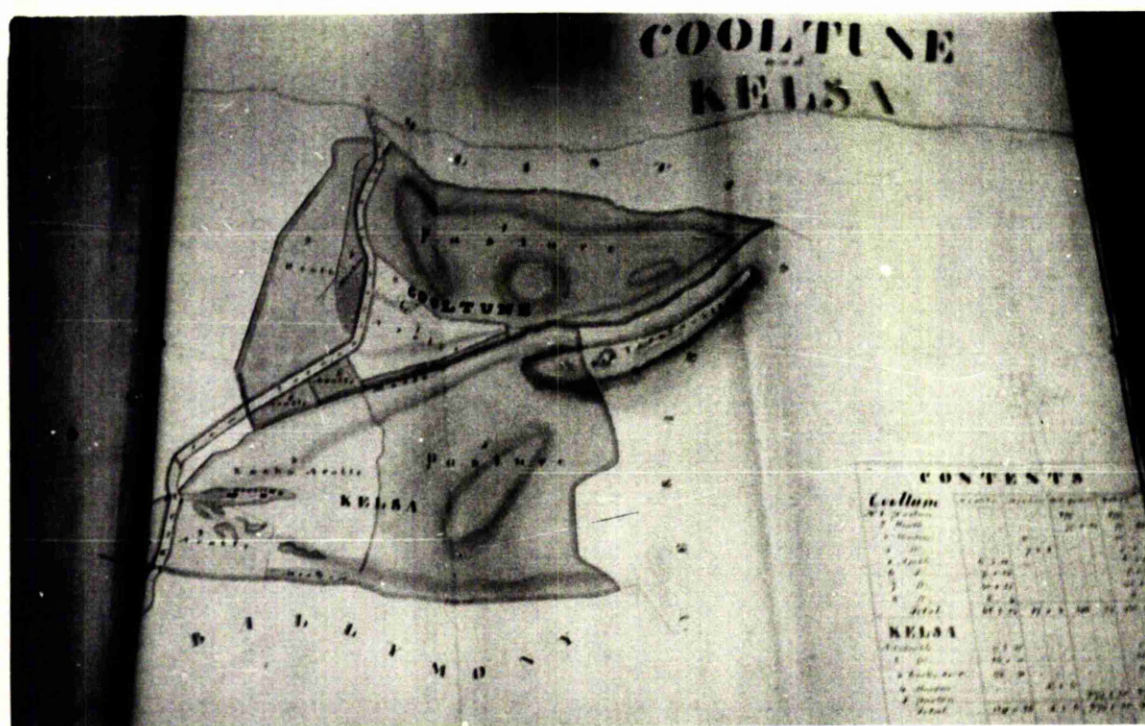


Figure 23b. William Gemmill's maps of Cooltune and Kelsa in the 1820's. Each holding is divided into arable and pasture sections.

results have been rather different, and will be discussed in the succeeding chapter.

PROCESS	EXAMPLE IN ISLAY	EX. IN ARDNAM.-SUNART
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TACK DIRECT TO FARM	Coull Cultoan Kolsa	Achateny
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### TACKS AND JOINT FARMS

INCREASE AND SUBDIVISION	Kendrochid Carnduncan	
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CLEARANCE AND CONSOLIDATION	Kilchearan	Ben Hiant
-----------------------------	------------	-----------

REDUCTION AND ENLARGEMENT	Nerabolis Lossit	
---------------------------	---------------------	--

### REORGANISATION AND LOTTING

SINGLE FARMS	Isla House Skorrols	
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SMALLHOLDINGS	Ballitarson Craigfad Lurabus Smaull	
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CROFTING TOWNSHIPS	Claddich	Strontian Valley Shielfoot
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### DWINDLING AND ASSIMILATION

SINGLE FARMS	Tallant	
--------------	---------	--

SMALLHOLDINGS	Tormisdale Carabus	
---------------	-----------------------	--

VILLAGE LOTMENTS	Port Charlotte Port Wemyss	
------------------	-------------------------------	--

MUIR LOTMENTS	Glenegidale	(Newton Kintra)
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SETTLEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT	Gladville & W. Ellister	Ormsaigmore
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AMALGAMATION	Olistadh/Gearach	
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PLANTATION AND AFFORESTATION		
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### TACK DIRECT TO FARM.

In Islay one of many examples of this process is Coull. Named as a tacksman's holding in the early eighteenth century rentals, Coull is so depicted on one of Stephen MacDougall's maps of 1749 (fig. 23a). In 1749 all arable and pasture fields are named as such, and are enclosed by a dyke





Figure 24. Reproduction of part of Bald's map of Ardnamurchan and Sunart in 1807, showing the enclosures and large arable fields of the tack of Achater, contrasting with the sporadic enclosures and general small size of the common arable fields of the neighbouring joint farms to the east.



of turf or stone. The entire holding is surrounded by a stone dyke explicitly named. The tacksmen's large house is shown standing separately from the houses of the workers (or subtenants) which are located in two spots, at Machranabanalar and at Ballymenach. In 1795 Coull is mentioned as part of a large tack comprising Coull, Coulerach, Foreland, Gultoon, Corgortan and Duninult. But by 1819 the rental shows that Coull has become a single tenancy farm. The second edition of the Ordnance Survey six inch map depicts the farm as it is today, with a close resemblance to the mid-eighteenth century tack. Again, William Gemmill's maps of the 1820's show the two tacks of Gultoon and Kolan organised in arable-pasture and muir pasture portions, (fig. 23b), which are still seen on the modern six-inch maps of the holdings.

In Ardnamurchan, William Bald's map of 1807 (Figure 24) depicts the large cattle and sheep farm of Achateny on the northern coast of the Ardnamurchan-Sunart peninsula. The enclosures and farmbuildings representing eighteenth century improvements on some tacks in the peninsula can be picked out. The ground plan of the farm is almost identical to-day. Many of the Sunart tacks showed a lesser proportion of arable and improved pasture land, and are still to-day the large sheep-grazing farms of the peninsula.

#### INCREASE AND SUBDIVISION.

The tenancy diagram in figure 25a shows the rapid increase in numbers of legal tenants in Kendrochit, Rhinns, between 1803 and 1824, and by illustrating halving or sharing of rents indicates subdivision of holdings. But no other map or other evidence corroborates this for Kendrochit. In nearby Garndonachy or Garnduncan, an increase in numbers of tenants between 1803 and 1833, and corresponding subdivision of holdings is implied in a missive written in 1817 by one of the tenants in the township, D. McLergan

Kendrochit, N.Rhinns, Islay.

1779 TACK.	1803	1824	
	J. Leitch	J. Leitch	£8.13. 4.
		A. Leitch	8.13. 4.
	J. McCannell	J. McCannell	8.13. 4.
		A. McCannell	8.13. 4.
	J. Smith	M. McCannell	17. 6. 8.
	A. Smith	J. McCannell	8.13. 4.
		Heirs D. Leitch	8.13. 4.
	A. McCannell	A. McCannell	17. 6. 8.
	D. McCannell	D. McCannell	8.13. 4.
		G. McCannell	

Figure 25a. Part of tenancy diagram for Kendrochit,  
N.Rhinns, Islay.

Carnduncan, N.Rhinns, Islay

1779 TACK.	1802	1824		1833	
	D. Currie	D. Currie	£8. 6. 8.	M. Currie	£12
	G. Currie	G. Currie	8. 6. 8.	N. Currie	12
				M. Currie	6
	M. Currie	M. Currie	4. 3. 4.	N & H Currie	6
		M. Currie	4. 3. 4.	M. Currie	12
	A. McLorgan	A. McLorgan	8. 6. 8.	J. McWiven	6
				D. McLorgan	6
	D. McLorgan	D. McLorgan	8. 6. 8.	D. McLorgan	12
	C. Ferguson	C. Ferguson	8. 6. 8.	N. Ferguson	12

Figure 25b. Part of tenancy diagram for Carnduncan,  
N.Rhinns, Islay.

to the landlord, Walter Frederick Campbell, in which he states:

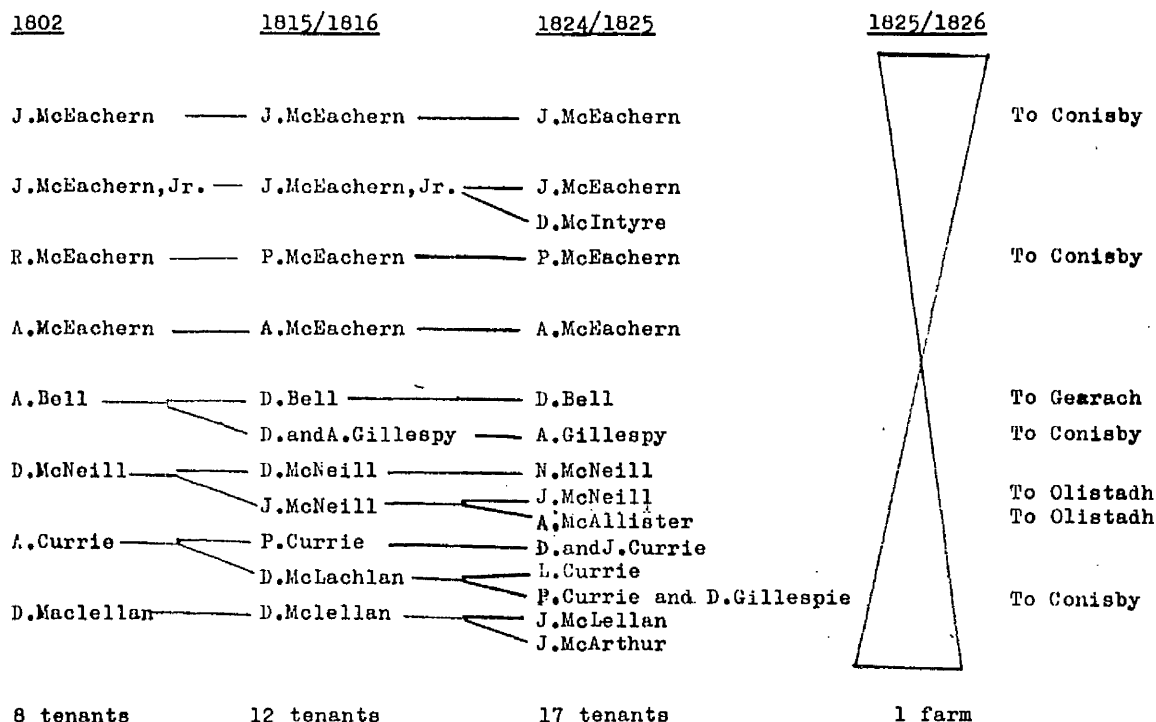
"In 1807 the tenants in Carndonachy divided the farm in three divisions, one bigger than the rest, because it contained more mossy pasture. The petitioner took it, improved it with sand then built a stone dyke around it. Now the neighbours want to divide the farm a second time," (implying that the old arrangement is now unsatisfactory due to increasing subdivision of the land) "but are not willing to settle for his trouble nor for the stone dyke. The petitioner wants a proper Judge to examine the ground".

From the diagram of tenants however (figure 25b) it is seen that although the farm was divided into three possessions in 1807 there were at that time at least six tenants living in the clachan. By 1824 the six had increased to seven, and by 1833 to ten. Subdivision of the existing holdings must have taken place to make reorganisation necessary.

#### CLEARANCE AND CONSOLIDATION.

In Islay there were a few occasional early clearances of small multiple tenants to make way for one farm such as in Ballyclach between 1779 and 1795. A precept of removal and ejection of Shawfield in 1781 states: "Walter Campbell of Shawfield obtained decret and sentence of removing against David, Duncan, and Charles Moduffie and Ider Spence, pretended tenants and possessors of the lands of Glasgowbeg or some parts or portions thereof, by the 1756 Act - to flitt and remove themselves, wives, bairns, servants, subtenants and cottars and others by Whitsunday 1781.- Forcible eviction will be resorted to if they have not flitted within six days of that date." Again, Octovullin near Isla House had eleven tenants in 1812 but only one in 1824. In the latter case the displaced tenants probably moved into adjacent townships or into the village of Bowmore. Clearance was more common after this period in Islay when the first major period of change was set in motion between the 1820's and 1830's. But only in a few cases was clearance sudden and drastically revolutionary, and never at any time or over any large area was sudden clearance particularly

KILCHEARAN and BRAID : farm in tack until 1795 when let to tenants of Small,  
Neil and Ronald MacEachern, Angus McNicole, Alex. McNeill  
and Arch. McVurrich.



Between 1825 and 1826 the township was cleared of tenants to make way for a large farm. Instead of a rental of £286 as a township, the new rent was £286 payable by farmers Duncan and James Campbell. Many tenants went to other townships such as those named ; others moved into the newly established village of Port Charlotte ; the remainder presumably emigrated to the Lowlands of Scotland or furth, as is indicated in the 1831 volume of the Census of Scotland.

Note : The diagram is perhaps, further complicated by unidentifiable internal movements of tenants though this is unlikely to have been important until consolidation of holdings had taken place presumably between 1825 and 1833.

Figure 26. Part of the tenancy diagram for Kilchearan, Rhinns, showing the early nineteenth century increase in number of tenants, followed by clearance between 1825 and 1826.



prevalent. Apart from the few occasional sudden clearances which did take place of which Kilchearan is the best example, the others usually occurred later in the middle half of the century when some reduction or dwindling in numbers of tenants had already taken place. Thus the example of Kilchearan is rather unusual for Islay although it is more characteristic of the rest of the West Highlands and Islands in which many areas were revolutionised by clearances. But in this context, the clearance of Kilchearan in Islay is more indicative of the general process of reduction in numbers of tenants which occurred in Islay between the 1820's and 1830's though seldom in the form of clearance. The diagram of tenants for Kilchearan (figure 26) again illustrates the increase in numbers of tenants in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The rental of 1826 indicates that Kilchearan had become a single large farm by the removal of the seventeen tenants named in the rental of 1824/5, who had lived in the clachan on Kilchearan and that of Braid nearby. By tracing the names of these tenants in later rentals of other holdings and of the villages, it is seen that at least eleven of the tenants migrated to the nearby townships of Gearach, Olistadh and Conisby, as well as to the village of Port Charlotte. The rest would presumably migrate further or emigrate beyond the island as is indicated in the remarks concerning the parish in the 1831 volumes of the Census of Scotland.

In Ardnamurchan and Sunart, sudden clearance, more typical of many parts of the Western Highlands and Islands, took place at various times through the nineteenth century and for various purposes. Even in the Assessor's Valuation of 1807 accompanying Bald's map, the idea of converting the townships around and leading up to Ben Hiant (fig.27) into a sheep walk was referred to thus: "To arrange properly these farms should be one and stocked with Cheviot sheep, but probably the rise of rent would not be so

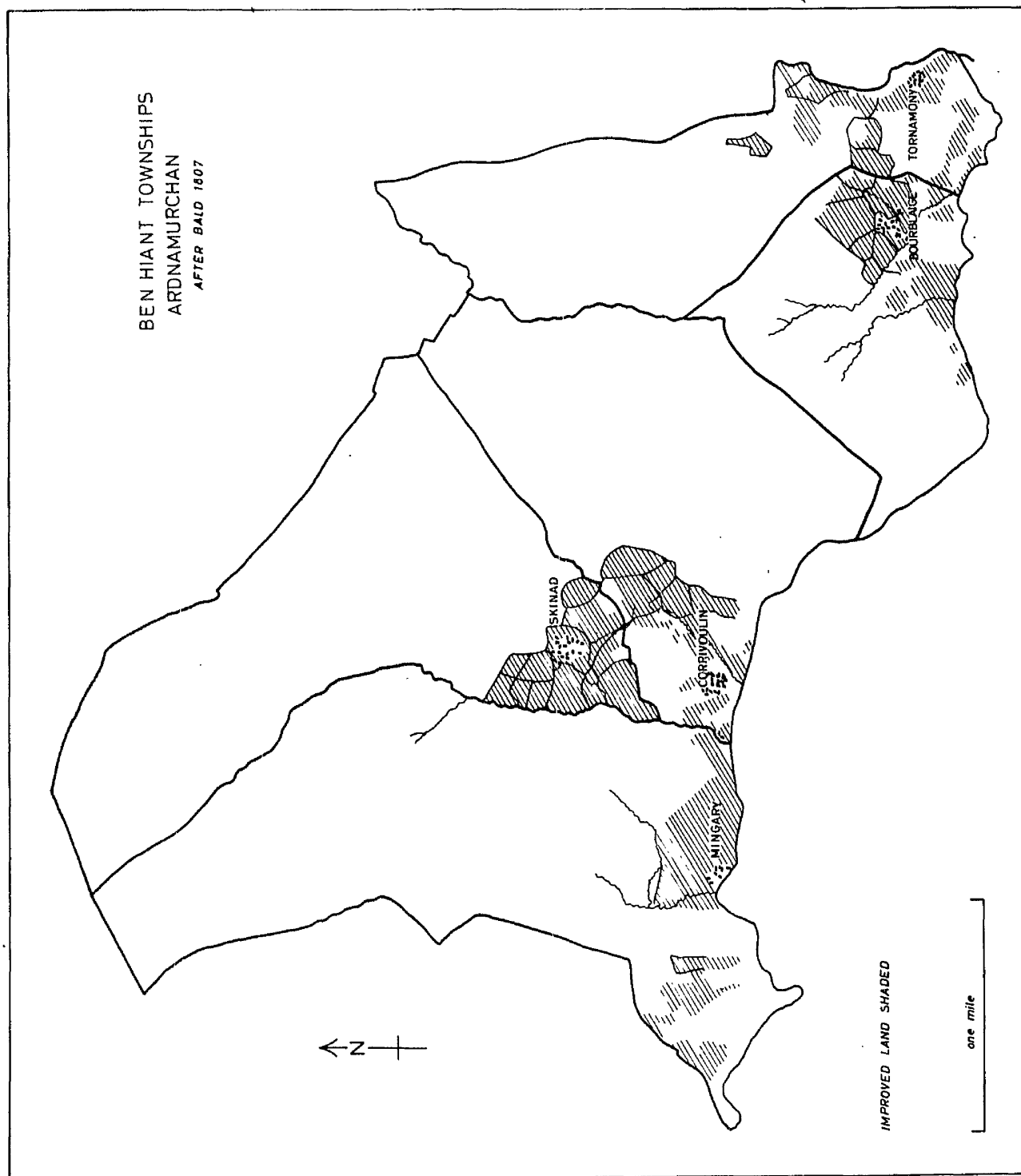


Figure 27. Redrawing of part of Bald's map of Ardnamurchan and Smart in 1807, showing the townships on either side of the central Ben Hiant. These were cleared in the third decade and the fourth decade of the 19th.C.

much at the outset as to justify the removal of so many small tenants". The clachans of these tenants and the joint townships around Ben Hiant as depicted by Bald in 1807 are shown in figure 27. This reason was especially true of the first quarter of the nineteenth century when the manufacture of kelp on the peninsula's shores added to the landlord's income from holdings and helped to support a population too large in numbers for the land available. Reluctance on the part of the landlords to make drastic and complete clearances is shown in the remarks on the 1829 rental such as "the numbers of tenants in Corrivouline should be reduced from 13 to 8". But in fact with sudden reduction in prices for kelp in the 1820's and with subsequent mounting of arrears of rent, clearance was resorted to soon after this. The rental of 1829 shows Tornamoany, Bourblaise and Mingary already as one tenancy, whilst Corrivouline had 12 and Skinad 10 tenants. But these last figures were scored out in ink by the factor's hand in his 1834 notebook. Some houses in the clachans were still occupied as shepherds' houses but the majority of the tenants moved to adjacent townships of Kilchoan and Ormsaigbeg or emigrated altogether from the peninsula.

At the middle of the century the three townships of Swordlechorrach, Swordlemore and Swordlehuel were likewise cleared of their small tenants to form one hill cattle and sheep farm, Swordle. Still later Laga, Glenbeg, Glenborrodale and others were cleared as sporting estates. Tenants displaced from the Swordles and others were accommodated in adjacent townships or in the newly established crofter-fisher settlements in Sanna and Portuaik at the western end of the peninsula.

#### REDUCTION AND ENLARGEMENT.

After the first quarter of the century in Islay, with increasing numbers of tenants, subdivision of the land, and mounting arrears of rent,

Northolls, Rhinns

<u>Tenants</u>	<u>1824/5 Rent</u>		<u>1833 Rent</u>
A. MacDonald	26. 5. 0.	A. McKenzio	218
J. MacArthur	6. 5. 0.		
A. MacEachern	12. 20. 0.	A. McLargen	18
Hoime Macmillan	12. 20. 0.	J. McDermid	18
A. Brown	6. 5. 0.		
A. Johnston	6. 5. 0.	D. and A. Campbell	18
J. Mackinnon	12. 20. 0.	J. McKinnon	18
D. Macmillan	12. 20. 0.	A. McDonald	18
D. McQuarrie	6. 5. 0.		
D. Lenard	6. 5. 0.	C. Campbell	18
A. Johnstone	12. 20. 0.	D. Mitchell	18

Figure 28a. Part of tenancy diagram for Northolls, Rhinns, Islay.

Lossit, Rhinns

	<u>1824</u>		<u>1833</u>
J. Carmichael Hoime	27. 20.		
wid. J. McCougall	7. 20.		
D. McKenzio	18. 0.	D. McKenzio	250
J. Gillies	15. 12.	A. Gillies	37. 10.
W. McKenzio	12. 8.	W. McKenzio	90
F. McIntyre	7. 20.	F. McIntyre	12. 10.
G. McIntyre	7. 20.	P. McIntyre	25. 0.
wid. J. McKenzio	7. 20.		
D. McLargen	7. 20.		
D. MacFadyen	15. 0.		
J. Brown	16. 15.	G. McGilvray	25. 0.

Figure 28b. Part of tenancy diagram for Lossit, Rhinns, Islay.

the landlord of Islay was obliged to reduce the numbers of tenants on some holdings which by their smallness of size or poverty of plentiful land, had become overpopulated. In Nerabolla, Rhinns for example, not only were the numbers of tenants reduced from eleven to eight but in fact most of the eleven tenants all of whom were in arrears, were replaced by incomers from surrounding townships. This change is shown in the extract from the rentals of 1824 and 1833 in figure 28a. The rents of 1833 are equal for each tenant which seems to indicate that although the individual new tenants in 1833 had larger holdings than the individual tenants before then, nevertheless the reduction in numbers was probably only an attempt to re-establish the original eight shares in the township which had become subdivided with population increase. Since the rents were apportioned equally in 1833 it is likely that no official reorganisation of the land took place at this time. The lack of any regular field pattern on subsequent maps and at the present day corroborates this. In fact the tenants may have unofficially agreed amongst themselves to consolidate their individual arable portions using turf boundaries already existing between fields.

In Lossit Rhinns, a reduction in numbers of tenants from eleven to six also occurred between 1824 and 1833 but the tenants were not replaced by incomers except in one case (figure 28b). Larger rents of each tenant indicate enlargement of his share in the township but the rents form numerical fractions of the total and there is no definite evidence of official reorganisation and consolidation of individual land. Once again it may have been agreed upon amongst the tenants themselves, perhaps at the wish of the landlord. This again resulted in lack of formal pattern of fields and holdings.

The conclusion reached seems to be that reduction in numbers

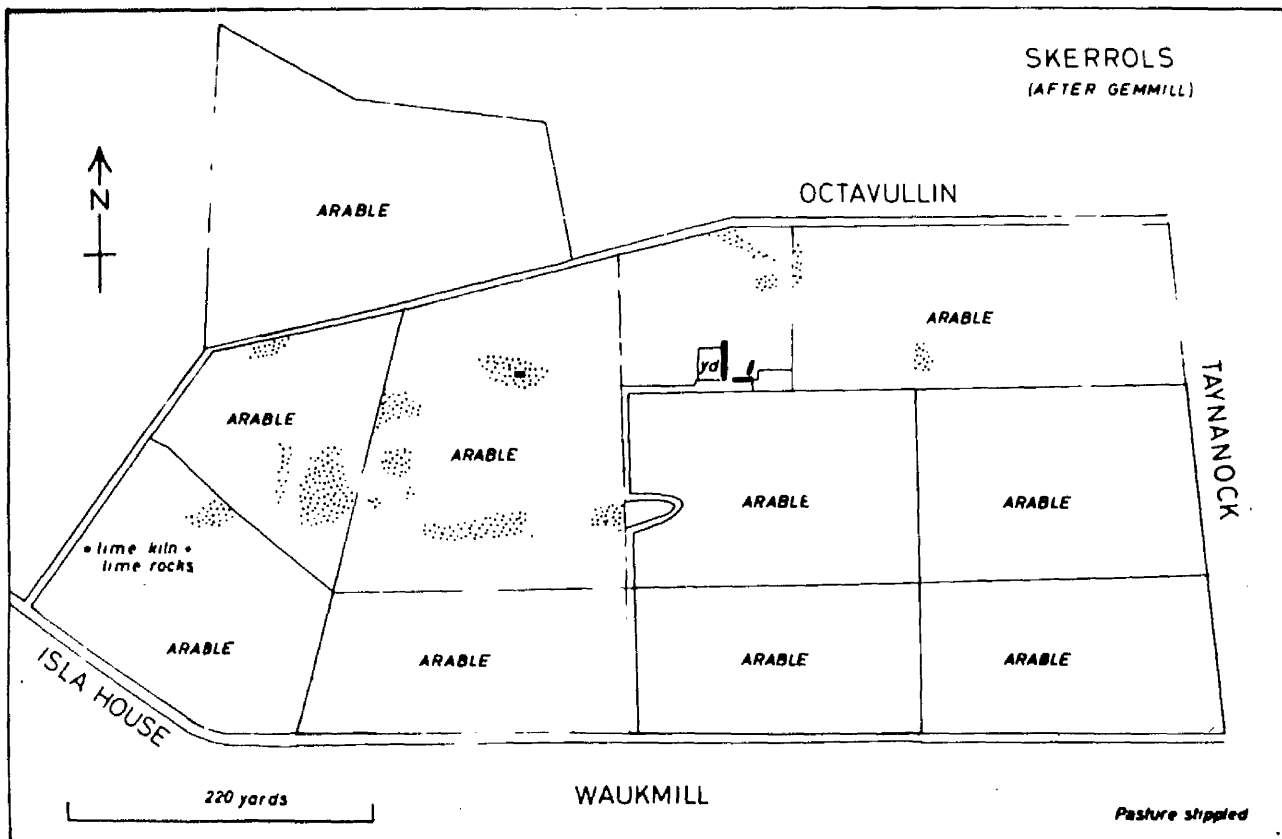
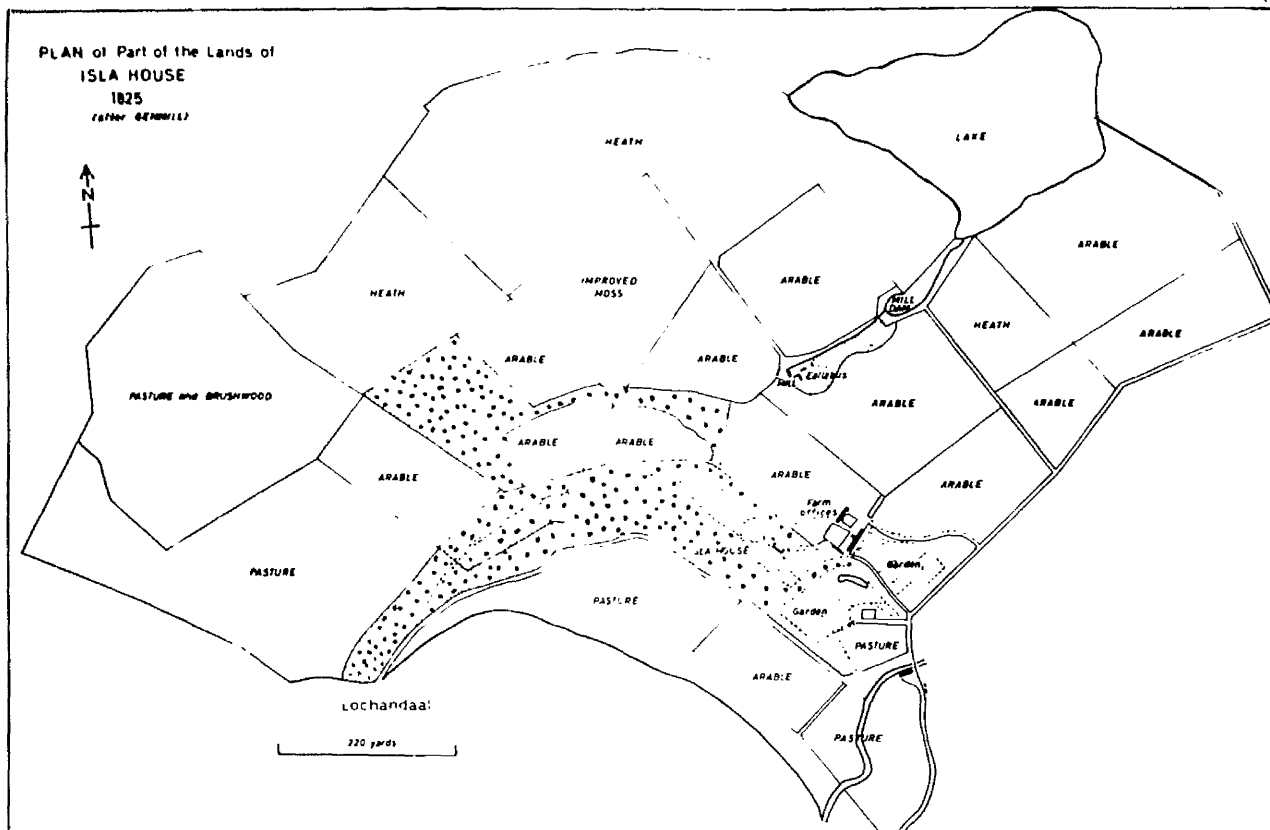


Figure 29. Early 19th-century reorganisation of single farms in Islay.

29a. The laid-out fields, plantations and gardens of Isla House, 1825.

29b. The regular field patterns of the farm of Skerrols in the 1820's.

resulted in a township of a small number of shareholders who could agree amongst themselves on consolidation more easily than would be the case were the numbers involved greater. This resulted in a fairly irregular system of field boundaries and patterns, rather along the lines of the former joint fields. Only rarely in Islay in the reduced townships is there evidence of rigid system of crofter holdings and crofter townships superimposed by the landlord.

Similar reductions in numbers of tenants in Ardnamurchan-Sunart were, as is more characteristic of the western Highland region as a whole, accompanied almost always by imposed or planned reorganisation, or more specifically by lotting of land, and will be discussed in the following pages under that heading.

#### REORGANISATION AND LOTTING.

Reorganisation of the land producing regular field patterns and usually dispersed settlement was planned by the landlord in Islay for both single and multiple tenancies in the early part of the nineteenth century mainly near his own mansion around the western end of the midland valley and on the shores of Loch Indaal. At the same time the other major landowners of the island - both related to Campbell himself, in Ballinaby and Sunderland, reorganised their parts of the island. Rentals contain frequent references to interests on loans for construction of dykes, farm buildings and drainage.

#### REORGANISATION OF SINGLE FARMS.

Figures 29a and 29b show two of several of William Gemmill's maps of the 1820's and 1830's which illustrate the rectangular and regular lay-out characteristic of the new patterns of laird's policies and estate

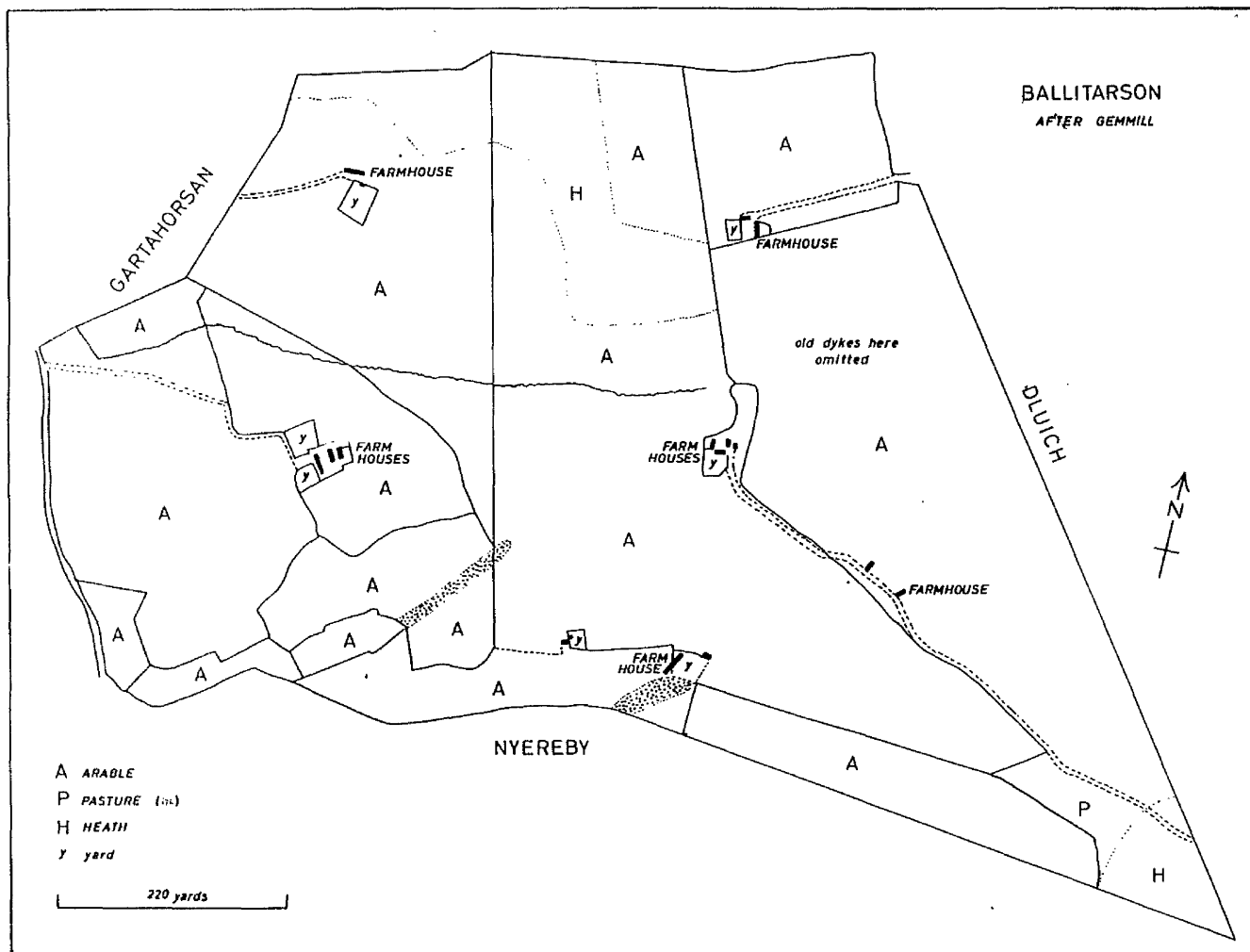


Figure 30. The reorganised individual small holdings of Ballitarson, with dispersed settlement, and no common grazing. As depicted by Gemmill in the 1820's and 1830's.



farms. Figure 29a illustrates the pattern of part of the lands around Walter Frederick Campbell's mansion at Isla House in 1825, with arable and pasture fields, ornamental woods, lakes and gardens. The farm of Skerris nearby is shown in figure 29b in the way in which it was reorganised and laid out at this time. Both holdings show almost the same pattern at the present day although Isla House has had several more of its fields converted into plantations.

#### REORGANISATION OF SMALL HOLDINGS.

Reorganisation was also carried out in some of the townships in Islay with similar regular or rectilinear field patterns. There was however a fundamental difference between the pattern produced in Islay and that produced by reorganisation in the peninsula of Ardnamurchan and Sunart and elsewhere in the wider region. There the establishment of lotted and regularly rectilinear crofting townships was more typical. In Islay the townships were often reorganised into several individual holdings with no common pasture except in the case of the one and only crofting township of Claddich. This difference is illustrated on estate and Ordnance Survey maps. It is corroborated by the uneven distribution of rents amongst tenants of the small holdings as opposed to the numerical divisions of rent more characteristic of shares in a joint farm. For Ballitarson for example, the rental for 1824 shows: (table 5 )

J and A Cameron	211
Heirs D McNiven	11. 4. 0.
J and M McInnes	9.12.
A Robertson	10.12
D Robertson	10. 8
A Macmillan	9. 0
wid. A Campbell	9.10.

Figure 30 shows the plan drawn by Gemmill for the reorganised holdings of Ballitarson. The new holdings are laid out as single possessions bounded by stone dykes, each with its own dispersed farmstead and

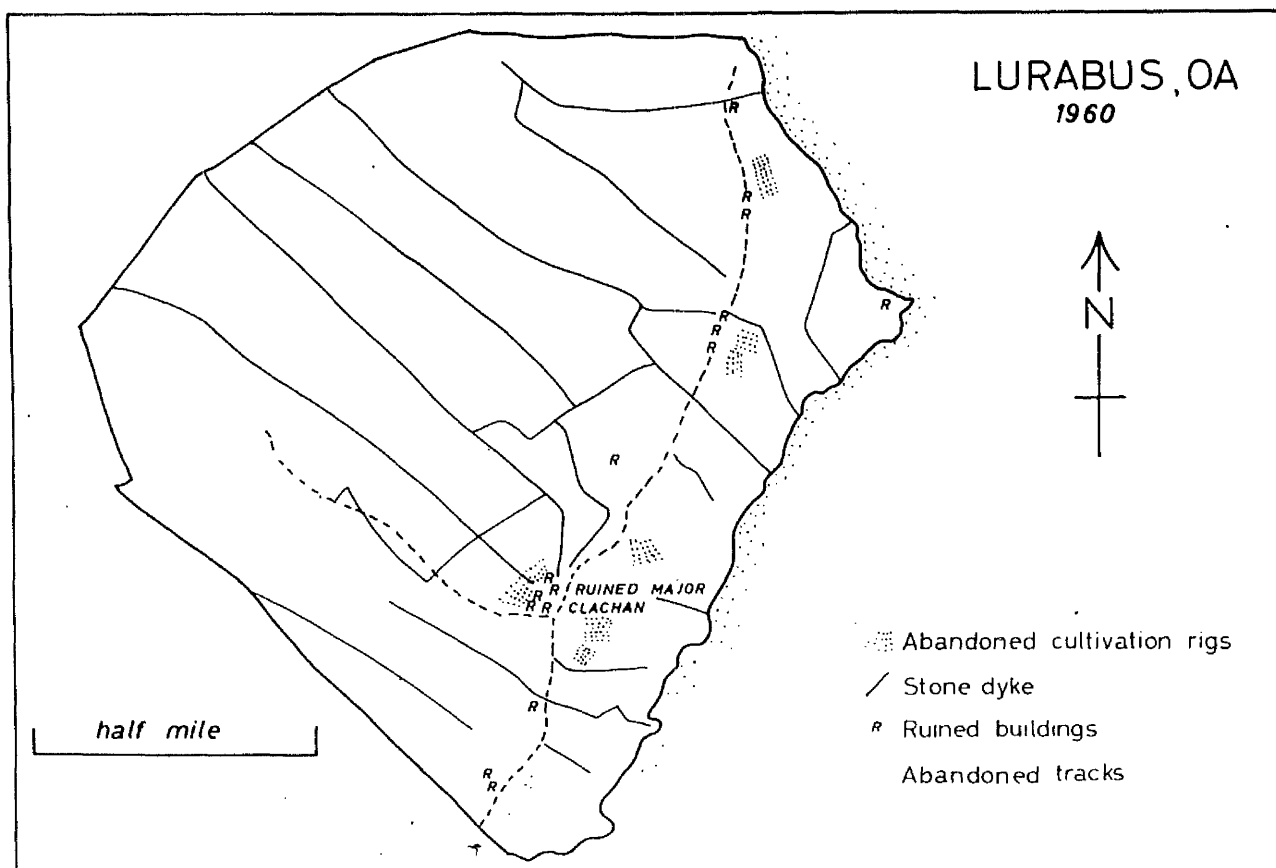
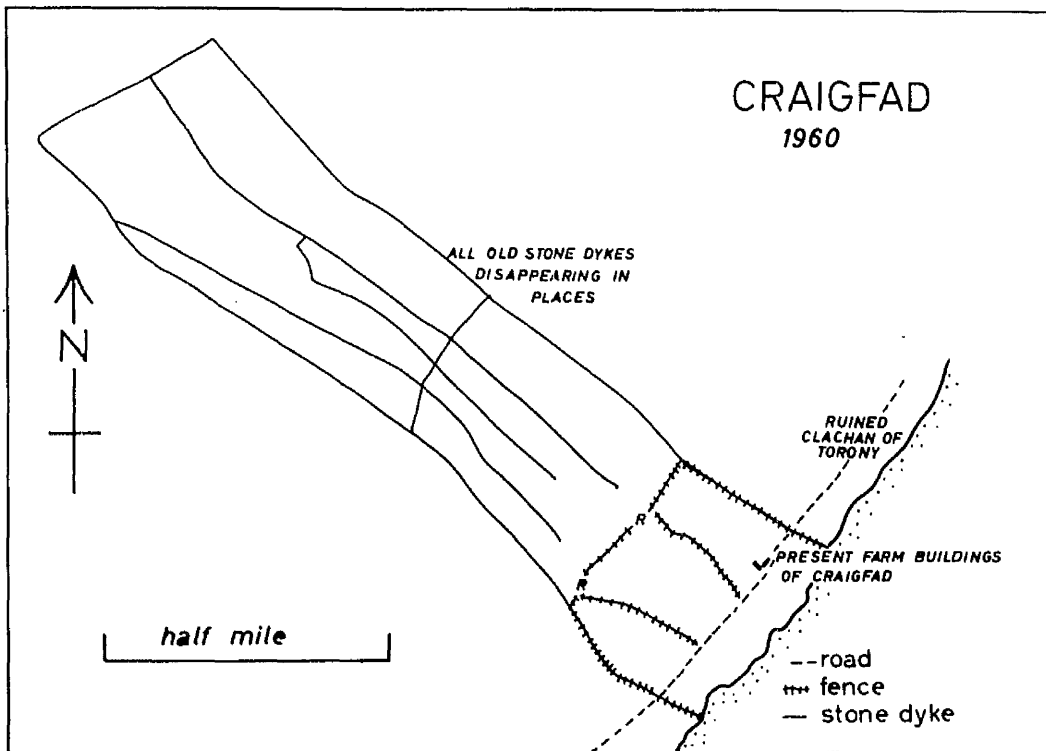


Figure 31. Examples of reorganised individual small holdings in Islay, with layout more characteristic of the West Highland landscape - each holding is many times longer than wide, and extends from sea shore over raised beach to hill behind. Dispersion of settlement from the original clachan is typical.

31 a. Craigfad, Rhinns.      31 b. Lurabus, Oa.

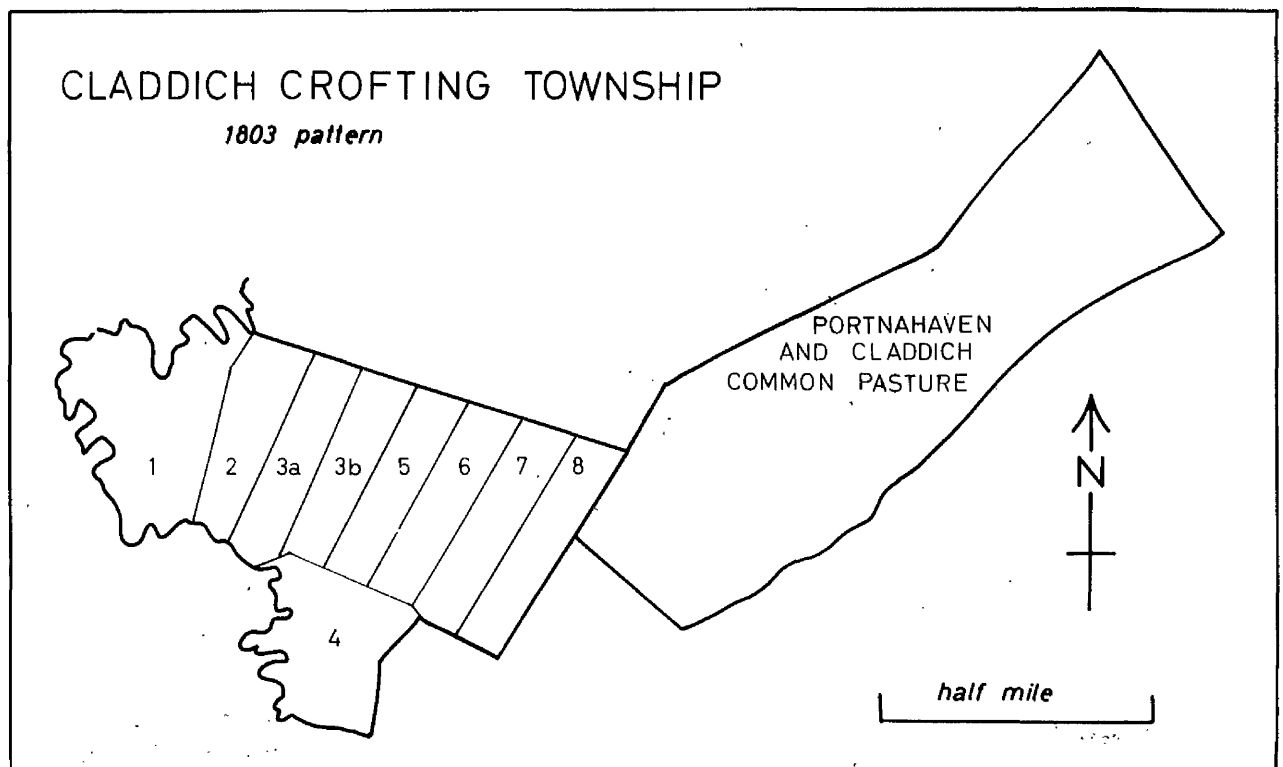
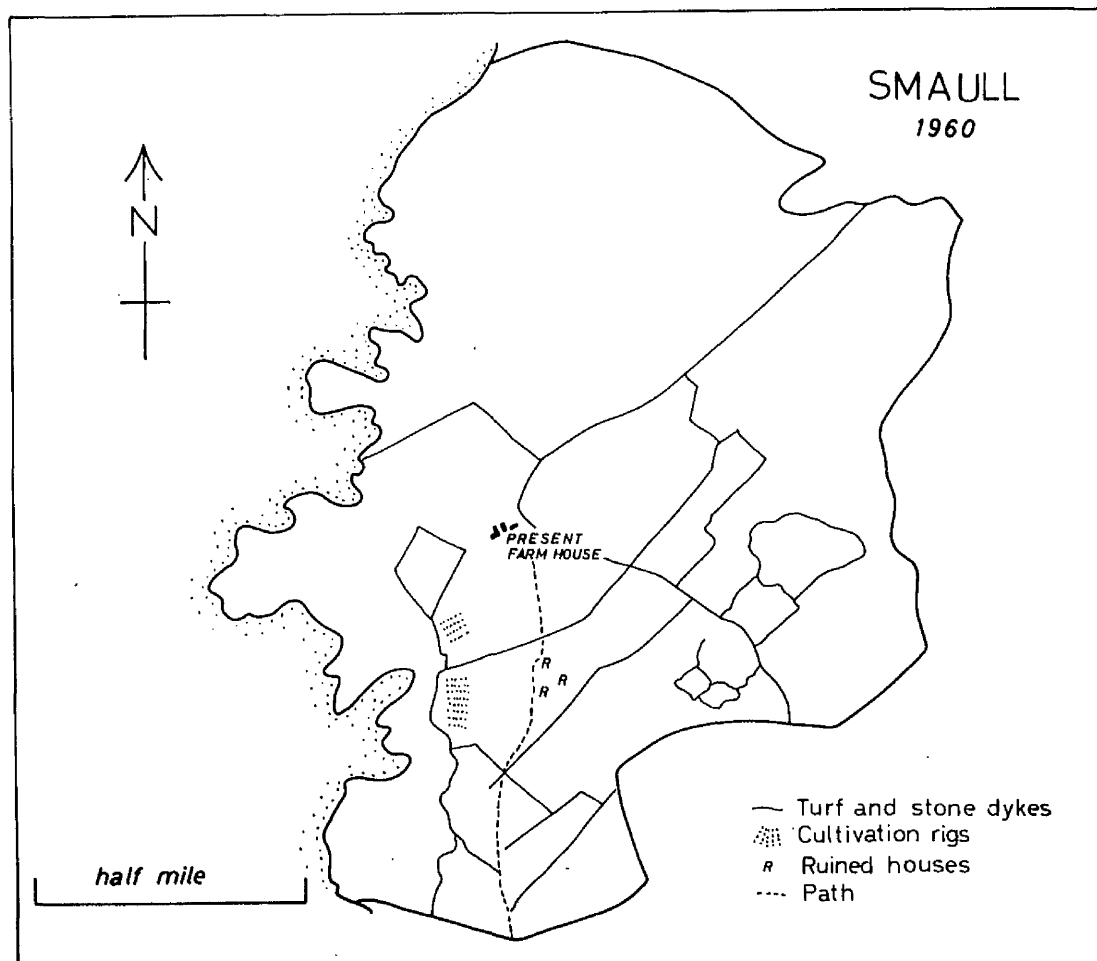


Figure 32 a. Remnants of eighteenth century common arable enclosures on Smaull exist today along with traces of early nineteenth century division into consolidated holdings (regular lines).  
 32 b. Claddich is the only crofting township in Islay lotted on regular grid-iron lines.

farm buildings presumably constructed from stones of the old clachan (not depicted on the map). Indications of the old order are shown by phrases such as "old turf dykes not shown". It is postulated that uneven non-arithmetic parts of rent may be taken as evidence of reorganisation, official or unofficial.

A different pattern is shown in figure 31a, which has been drawn from a published six-inch map of the late nineteenth century for Craigfad in the Rhinns. For this township, reorganisation for the four tenants of 1824 appears to have followed a pattern more familiar in the West Highlands - the ladder or strip pattern from the sea coast up over the raised beaches on to the muir pasture. In fact this reorganisation may have been one of the earlier townships to be lotted in Islay, like Claddich. Craigfad was let to two tenants in 1796 but in 1803 "had to be subdivided to provide for more tenants."

A similar pattern is displayed in the former township of Lurabus, Oa (fig. 31b). Again the lotting appears to have taken place in parallel strips from the coast up to the hills of the peninsula, as is seen from the six-inch maps of the late nineteenth century. But in this case although one long strip appears to have been allocated to each tenant, each contains the ruined cluster of several houses and buildings. These were probably occupied by subtenants and cottars. Figure 32a illustrates the remnants of a similar division for Smaull, in Rhinns, earlier indicated in discussion on leases. In Islay there was only rarely the establishment of the rigid grid-iron pattern typical of the crofting townships with common grazing. Figure 32b shows Claddich, the only example in Islay, lotted in 1803.

Neither of the above processes of reorganisation of single farms or of dispersed small holdings occurred in Ardsamurchan-Sunart where,

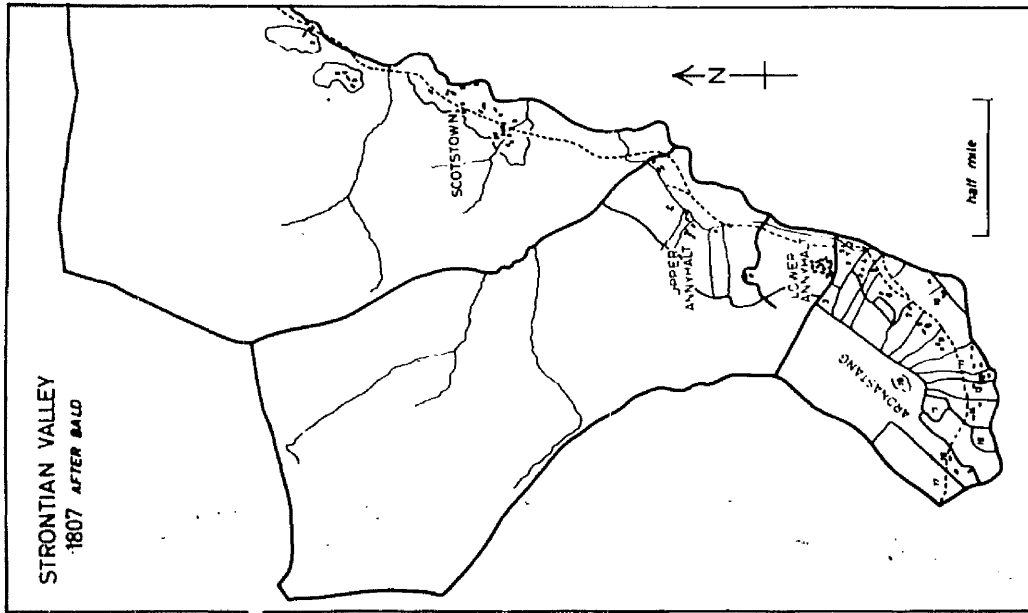


Figure 33a.

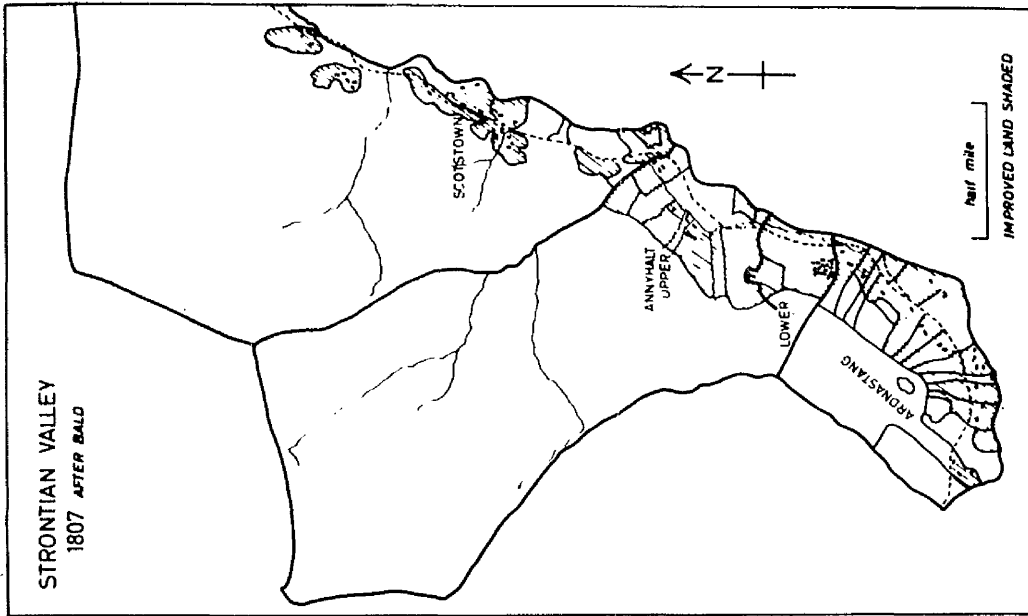


Figure 33b,

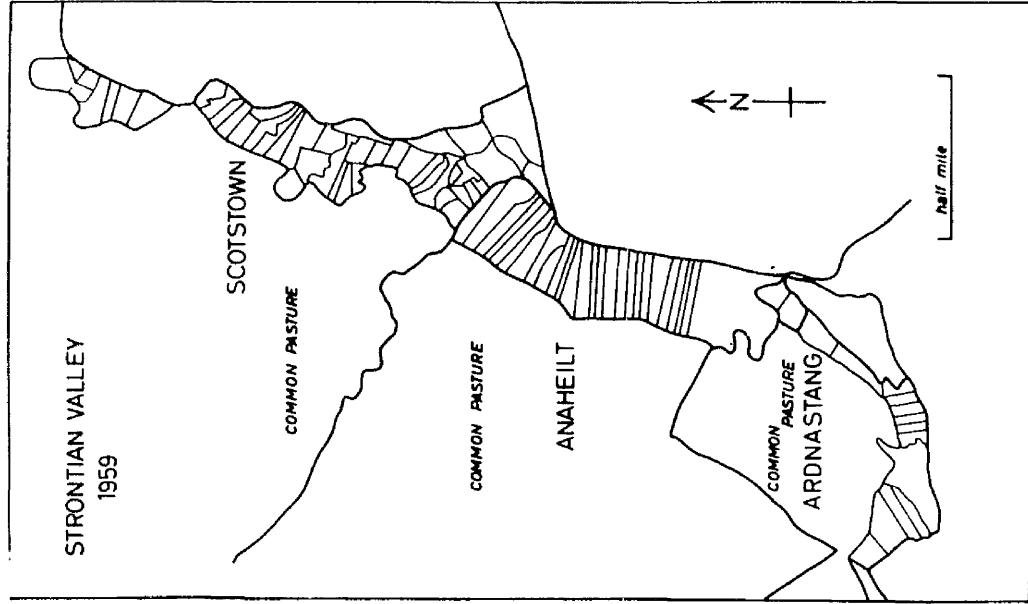


Figure 33c.

Figure 33. The Strontian valley before and after lotting.

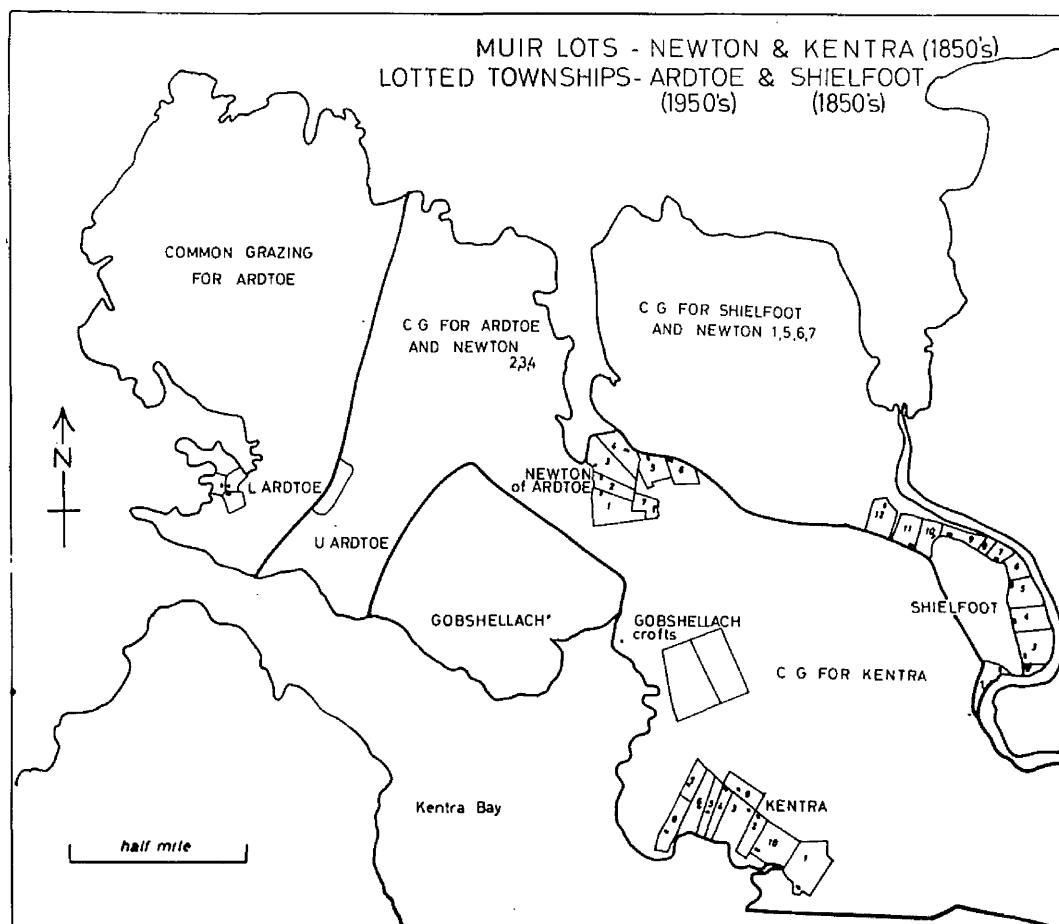
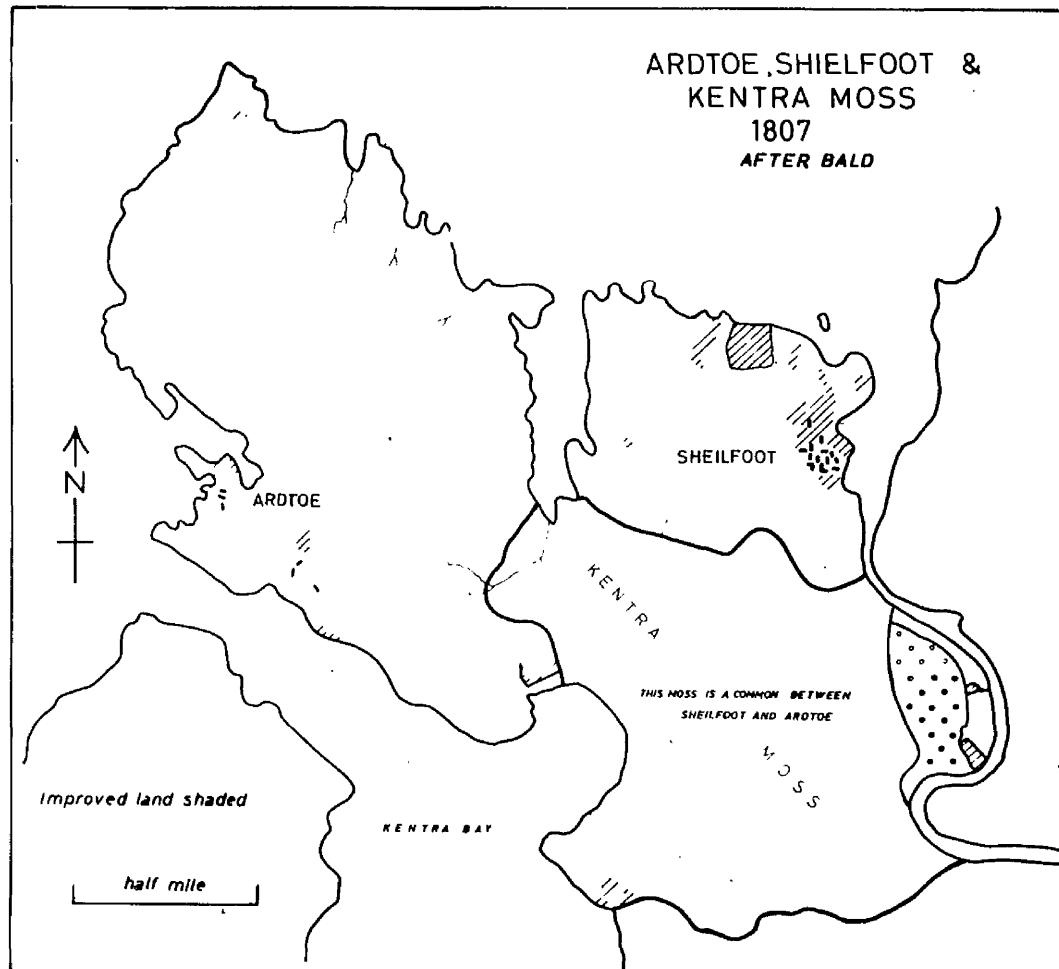


Figure 34. The lotting of the crofting townships around Kentra Bay.  
34 a. Kentra Moss and the townships of Ardtoe and Shielfoot in 1807.  
34 b. The same area now, with regularly laid-out crofts.

instead, reorganisation or revolution of most of the joint farms which had been depicted in Bald's time, took the form of the lotting of crofting townships at various times throughout the nineteenth century, mainly in the first three decades, and the period immediately around 1850. In these the arable or improved part or parts of each tenancy were lotted usually in rectilinear pattern whilst grazing was held in common. Besides clearance, this was the most characteristic form of reorganisation throughout the north-west in the nineteenth century to replace most of the joint farms (but not all)<sup>1</sup>.

#### LOTTED CROFTING TOWNSHIPS.

At the time of Bald in 1806 there was only one township in the peninsula of Ardnamurchan-Sunart already lotted - that of Ardnastang at the mouth of the Strontian river valley (figure 33a). In the words of the Assessor, "this farm is properly laid out in crofts and as it has little hill attached to it it is proper to be continued in crofts". Of nearby Annyhalt (Anyheilt) he says "this farm having arable land possessed by a number of small possessors and the moor of no great extent for a sheep walk, is proper to be divided into nearly equal lots and let out in crofts giving the hill for a cow pasture and making the crofters bound to bring the houses to the roadside, if not all at once so as they fall to be repaired".

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1. See for example:

- Morrisley, H.A. "N. Uist in 1799". Scot. geog. Mag. 1961, vol.77, No.2, p.89  
"Some Hebridean Field Systems" Gwerin, 1960, vol.III, No.1, p.22.
- Uhlig, H. "Die Landliche Kulturlandschaft der Hebriden und der Westschottischen Hochlande", Erdkunde 1959, vol.XIII,1, p.22.  
and "Typen Kleinbauerlicher siedlungen auf Hebriden", Erdkunde 1959, vol.XIII, No.2, p.98.
- and MacSween, M.D. "Settlement in Trotternish, Isle of Skye, 1750-1958". B. Litt. Thesis, Glasgow, 1959.

KNOWLEDGE AND ASSOCIATION TO A GROUP NAME

Callant, Midland valley

1903	1924	1933/1952	1963	1971
D Johnston	D Johnston	12	26.15. 6.	J Johnston
J Johnston	12			
D Brown	D Brown	10.5	16.13. 4.	D Johnston
H Brown	H Brown	11.15	18.16. 7.	A McLean
H McDonnell	A McDonnell	11.15		
A Sinclair	6	D Aie	18.10. 7.	
J Johnston	6	A Johnston		

Figure 35. Memory diagram for Callant, Islay.



Probably fairly early in the century this township and the nearby one of Scotstown were lotted in the form they now possess (figure 33c) quite distinct from the form shown on Bald. Likewise referring to Acharacle, "the crofts have been newly arranged; enclosures and temporary houses are commenced". In 1829 the factor writes of Shielfoot (fig. 34a) "this farm requires some arrangement: suited for crofters". But this was not in fact done until the next major phase of lotting around 1850 when the old clachan of Shielfoot surrounded by its improved land on the former marine bench was deserted. New rectilinear crofts were laid out along the foot of the cliff along the river Shiel, each with dispersed house (figure 34b).

#### DWINDLING AND ASSIMILATION.

The coincident processes of dwindling numbers of tenants by celibacy, death and emigration and associated assimilation of one tenant's holdings by another or others, was extremely characteristic of Islay in the nineteenth century whereas, in Ardnamurchan-Sunart it has really only become noticeable in the twentieth, as will be shown in the chapter 8, which studies multiple processes.

#### DWINDLING AND ASSIMILATION TO A SINGLE FARM.

Figure 35 shows the tenancy diagram for Tallant near Rowmore and illustrates the gradual dwindling in numbers of small joint tenants or multiple tenants until by 1871 the land has become two separate holdings.

#### DWINDLING AND ASSIMILATION TO GROUPS OF SMALL HOLDINGS.

In some holdings this complete dwindling of tenants has not yet reached the stage where numbers have decreased to one, and several small holdings result. Settlement has often remained on the site of the original cluster, but only a few of the houses are now occupied whilst the majority

<u>TORMISDALE, RHINNS.</u> 5 tenants in 1733.									
<u>1802.</u>	<u>1824</u>		<u>1833</u>		<u>1848.</u>	<u>1852</u>	<u>1863 to</u> <u>1881</u>	<u>1960</u>	
H. Mackinnon	D. Mackinnon	4' £14	J. Mackinnon	2' £9.13.9	C. Mackinnon				
			C. Mackinnon	2' £9.13.9.					
A. Brown	A. Brown	2' £ 7	D. Brown	4' £19. 7.6.	D. Brown				
	N. Brown	2' £ 7							
P. MacLellan	D. McLellan	2' £ 7	McLellan.	2' £9.13.9.	J. and W. Brown				
D. Ferguson	McLellan+McLellan	2' £ 7	McLellan	2' £9.13.9.					
	D. Ferguson	4' £14	D. Ferguson	6' £29.13.0.	Heirs	Heirs	Heirs		
J. Ferguson	D. Ferguson	2' £ 7	D. Ferguson	2' £9.13.9.		£39.2.9.	(To Carn)		
	A. Ferguson	2' £ 7	A. Ferguson	2' £9.13.9.	A. Ferguson				
D. McKimmon	J. McLellan	2' £ 7	J. McLellan	2' £9.13.9.	J. McLellan				
A. Mackenzie	Heirs	4' £14	A. Mackenzie	6' £29.2.9.	D. Mackinnon	J. Ferguson	J. Ferguson	Tormisdale	
						£17.18.4.		1	
G. MacArthur	G. MacArthur	2' £ 7	G. MacArthur	2' £9.13.9.	Heirs				
J. MacArthur	J. MacArthur+ sons	4' £14							
						Sinclair	Sinclair	Tormisdale	
						£63.18.5.		2	
						Grant	Grant	Fornisaig	
						£19.18.6.		(withCarn)	

Figure 36. Part of the tenancy diagram for Tormisdale,  
Rhinns, Islay.

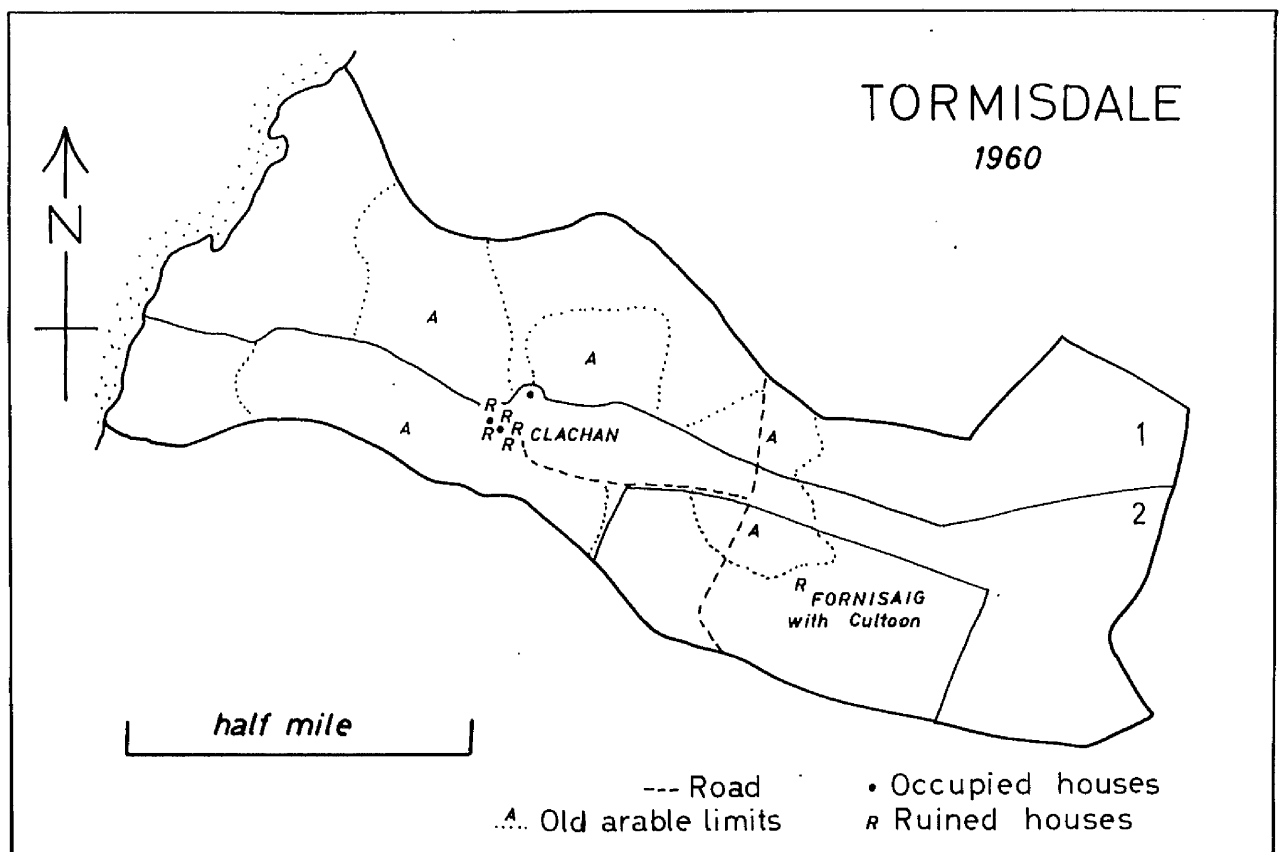


Figure 37 a. By dwindling numbers of tenants, the former joint farm of Tormisdale, Rhinns, has given way to three holdings today. There are many ruins in the clachan.

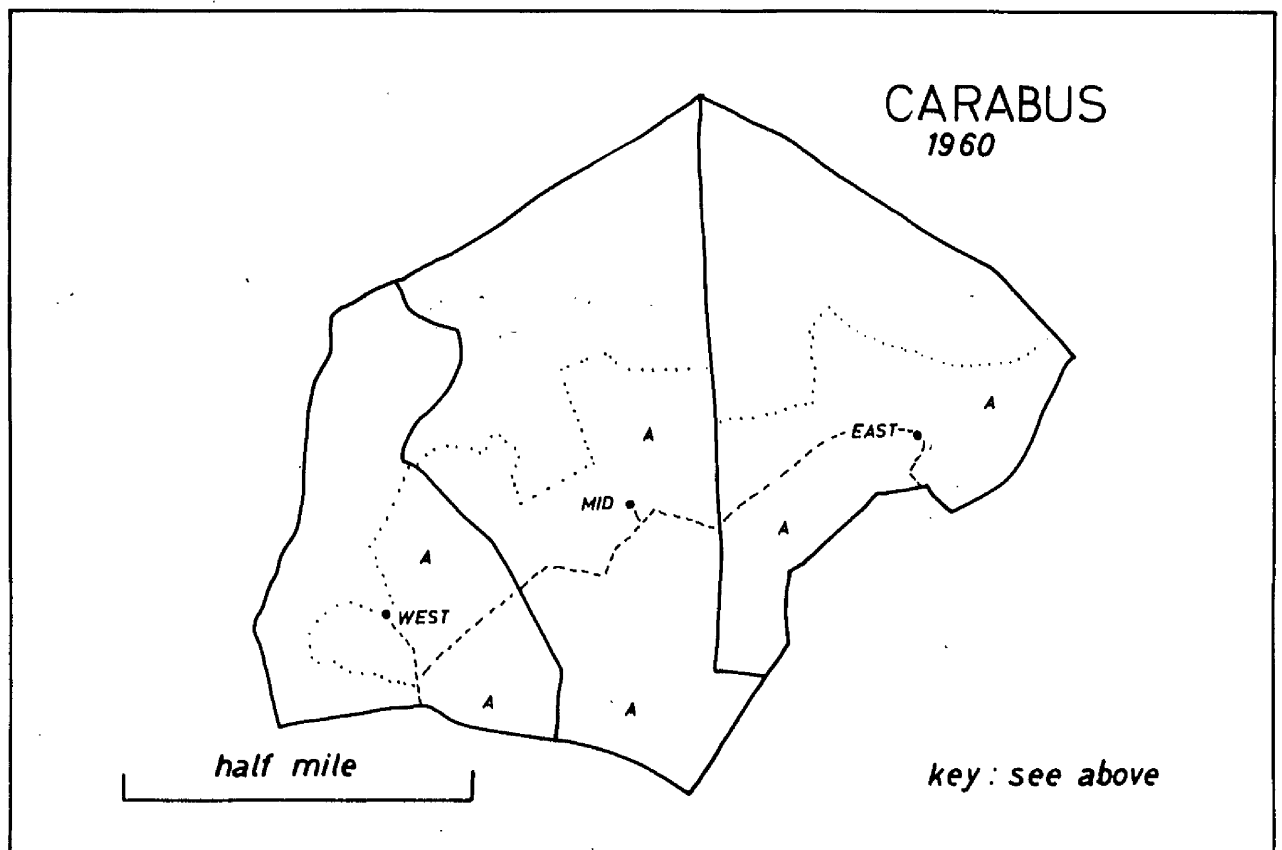


Figure 37 b. Dwindling numbers of tenants and unofficial reorganisation in Carabus, Islay, has resulted in three separate holdings, and dispersed settlement.

# CRAGABUS 1960

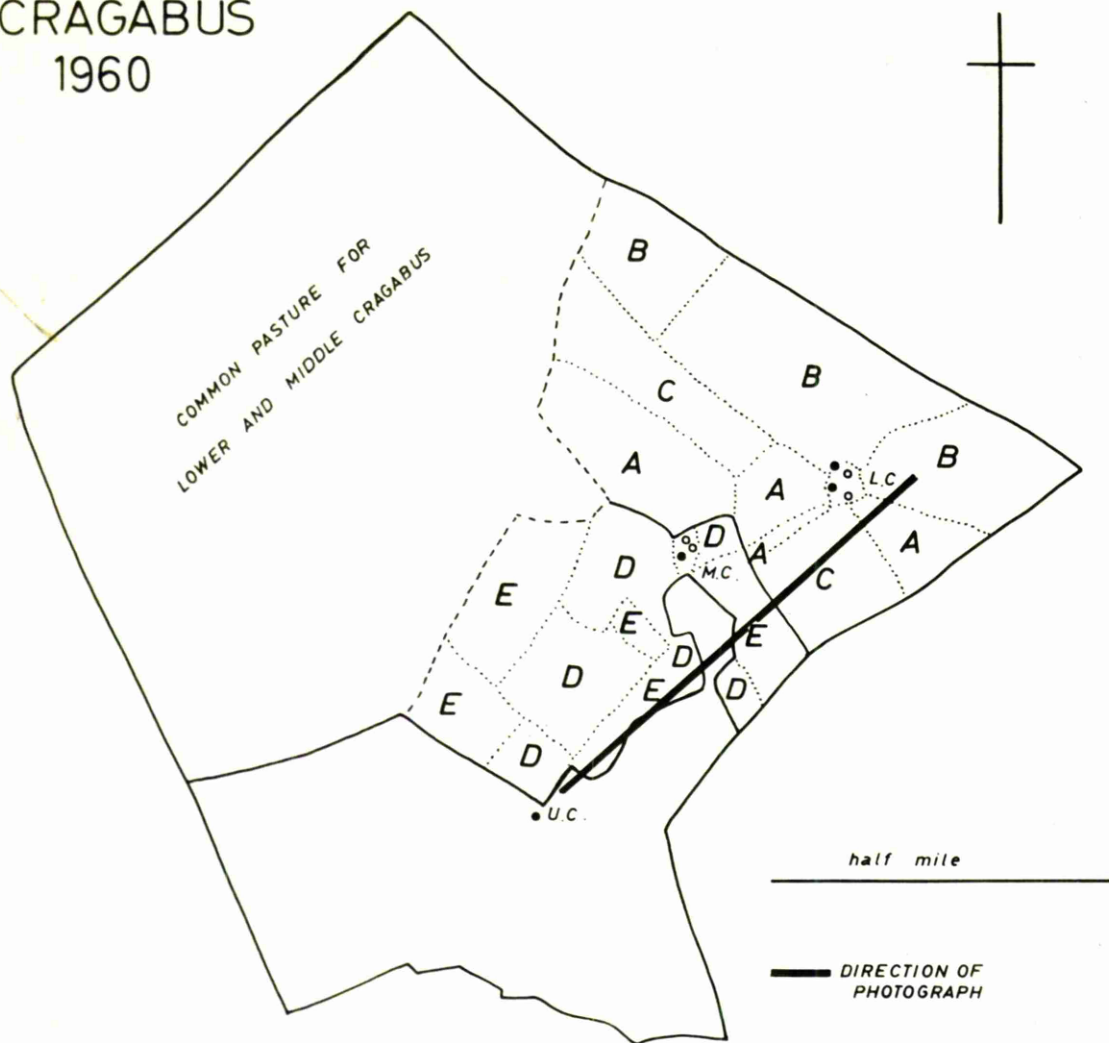


Figure 38a. The unconsolidated holdings of Cragabus, Islay, the result of twentieth century amalgamation of single holdings of dwindling numbers of tenants.



Figure 38b. Holdings in Cragabus, taken towards the south-west along the line indicated in Figure 38a.

are in ruins. In other examples, settlement has become dispersed as assimilation created larger holdings.

#### NUCLEATED SETTLEMENT.

Figure 36 shows the tenancy diagram for Formisdale in the Rhinns peninsula. Dwindling numbers of tenants after the 1830's and especially between 1848 and 1852 resulted in three holdings by 1863. At the present day the land formerly occupied by more than thirteen tenants now forms two holdings tenanted by two families living in the original clachan, whilst a third holding is tenanted and worked by the tenant of a neighbouring farm, Cultoon. (figure 37a).

Cragabus (figure 38a) is one of the few joint townships in Islay which has dwindled in numbers of tenants into several small holdings (held in unconsolidated pieces due to amalgamation of separate individual's holdings) whilst still retaining common pasture for part of the township. Perhaps Lower Cragabus was the site of the original cluster (there is a megalithic cairn just above the clachan) with later dispersion in off-shoots to Middle and Upper Cragabus, since the houses and farm buildings of Middle Cragabus have a linear pattern on the ground, and the farm house at Upper Cragabus is not sited amidst ruins as in Lower Cragabus clachan. With irregular topography and lack of precise and regular field boundaries it may be that Cragabus was never lotted in the manner more characteristic of true crofting areas but that individual consolidation was again informal. Today the appearance of the small holdings in scattered parts (figure 38a & b) superficially suggests fixed runrig, but this is not so. The strips are due solely to amalgamation of individual holdings.

#### DISPERSED SETTLEMENT.

The evolution of the tenancies for Carabus is much the same as that for Formisdale but the one difference is that individual holdings

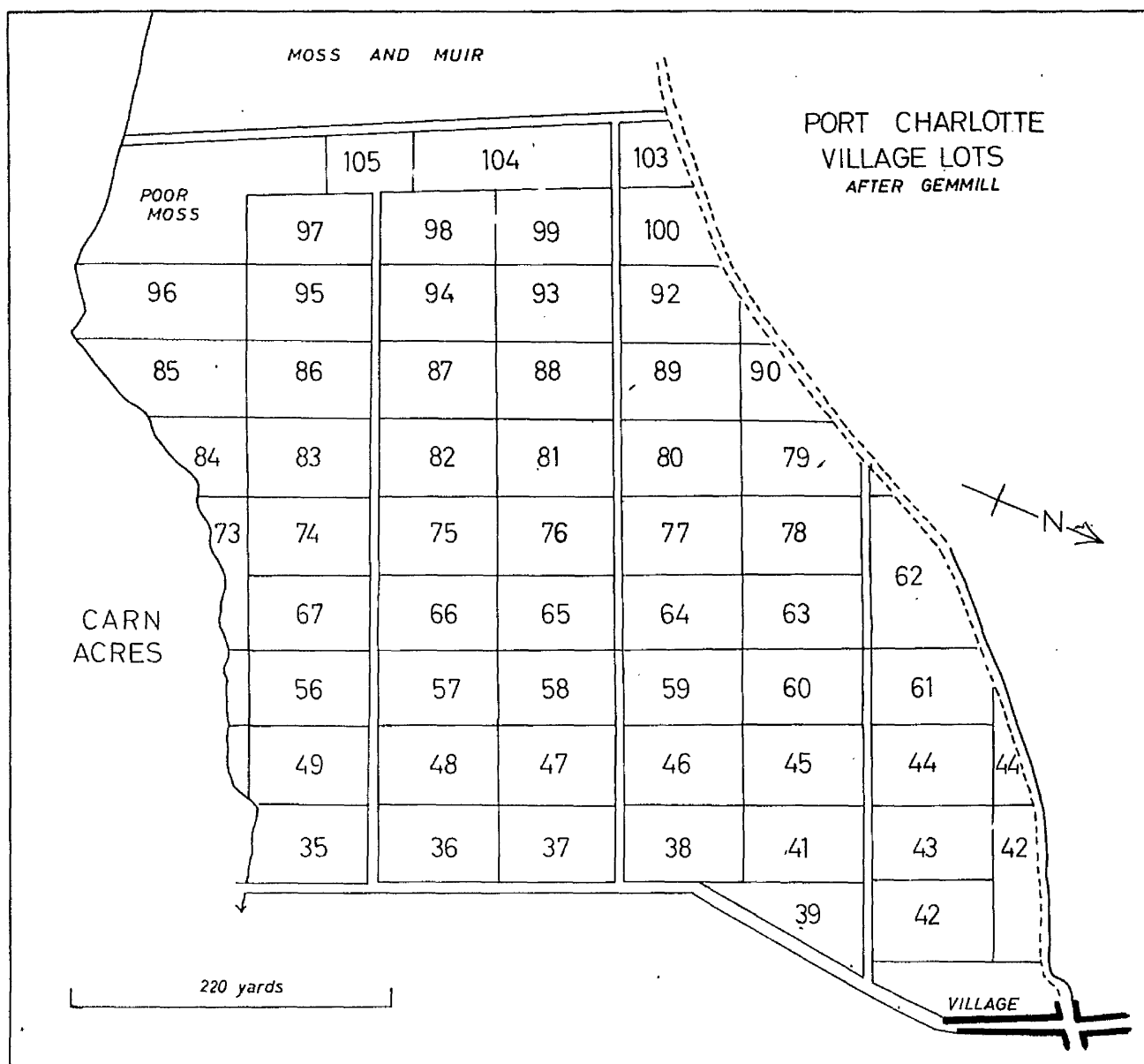


Figure 39. The nearly equi-dimensional blocks of land reclaimed by the villagers of Port Charlotte in Islay in the 1820's and 1830's, as depicted by Gemmill.

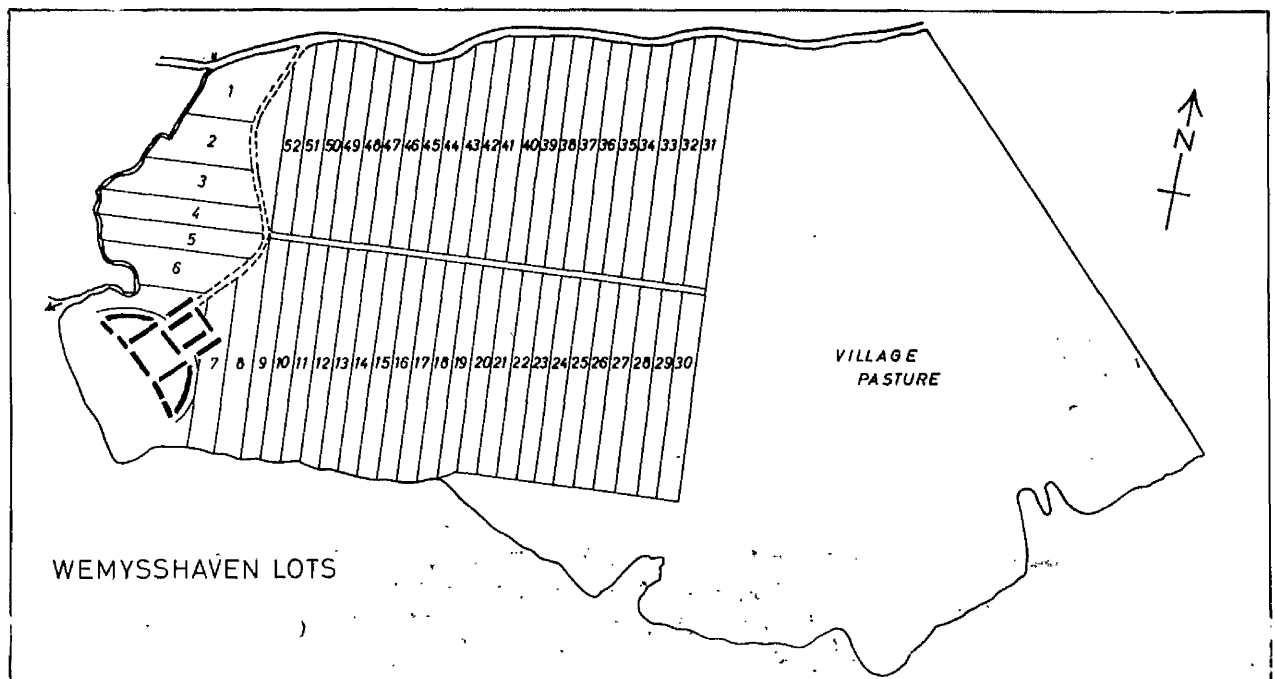
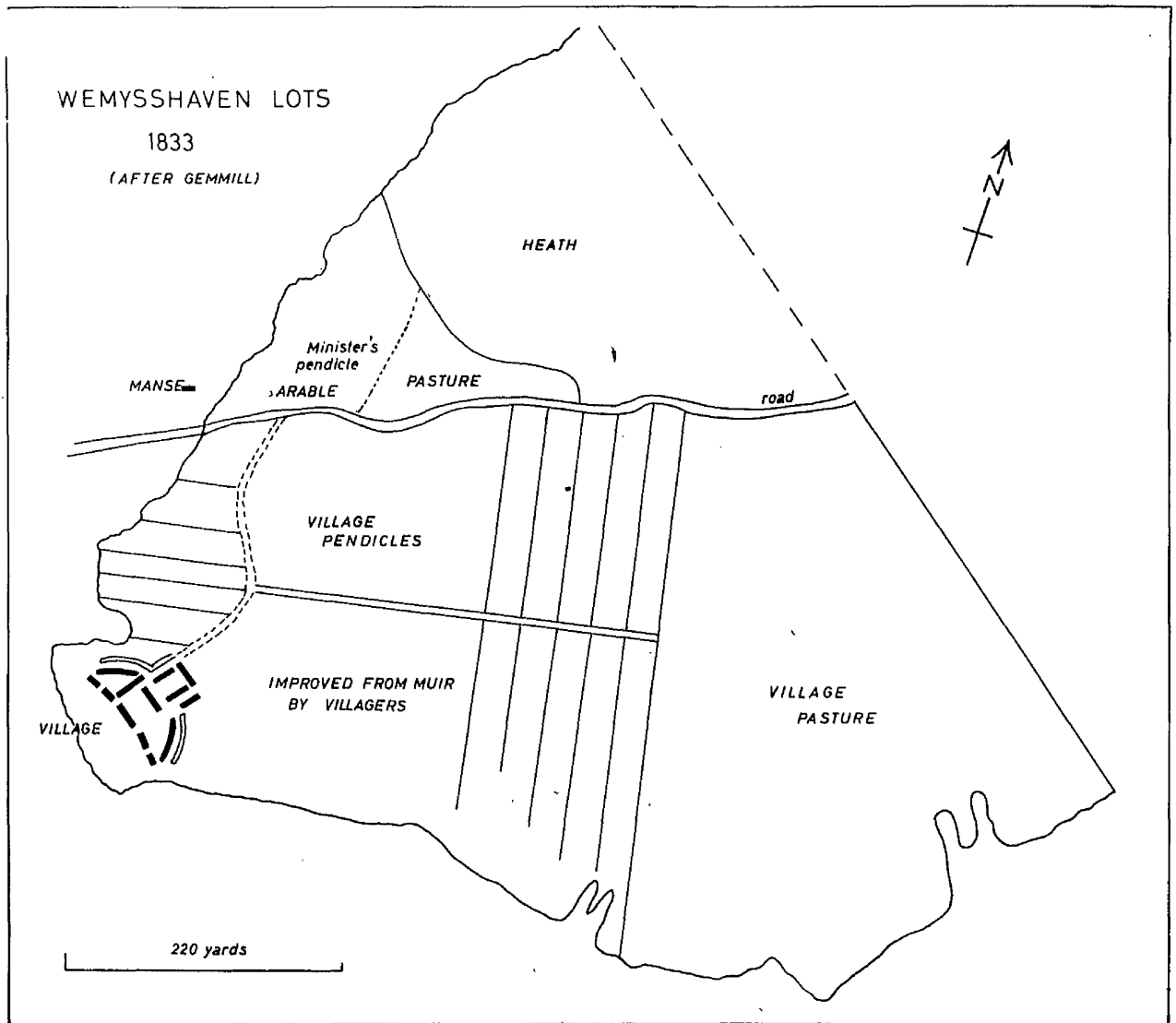


Figure 40 a. General plan of the village and lotments of Port Wemyss or Wemysshaven, as depicted by Gemmill in 1833.  
40 b. The narrow strips or lots of land reclaimed by the villagers from the muir, to provide potatoes, and fodder for a cow.

became larger by assimilation, and settlement moved from the original cluster to the holdings (figure 37b). This is more characteristic of the officially reorganised holdings of Ballintarnish (fig.30).

#### VILLAGE LOTS.

The plan and first buildings in the village of Bowmore were started in 1768. From then until the second quarter of the nineteenth century the peaty muir around the village was reclaimed in lots or plots by the village tenants. Some of these latter were tenants displaced from the townships, and frequently became paid agricultural day-labourers or craftsmen with no rights to land. Plots of land were therefore necessary for them to provide potatoes, and oats and grass for cow's milk, for their families. Similar land reclamation schemes were carried out in the 1820's and 1830's for the villagers of Port Wemyss, Portnahaven, Port Charlotte and Port Ellen.<sup>1</sup> In Bowmore and Port Charlotte each lot comprised a fairly substantial block of land (see figure 39) which has subsequently become a reasonably equi-dimensional field capable of efficient use.

But in the case of the fishing village of Port Wemyss set up in the 1830's by Walter Frederick Campbell, emulating the pattern of East Coast fishing villages, the field pattern chosen was different, and has led to greater degeneration in land utilisation at the present day. It is more reminiscent of many similar types of townships laid out for crofter-fishermen later in the century in the Outer Hebrides, all of which now form holdings too small for efficient agricultural use under their present pattern and organisation. Gemmill's maps of Port Wemyss village and lands in 1833 are

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1. Later in the century when new distillery villages such as Caol Ila and Bunnahabhain on the Sound of Islay sprang up, there were no associated lotments since by then potatoes and milk could be purchased from local farmers.



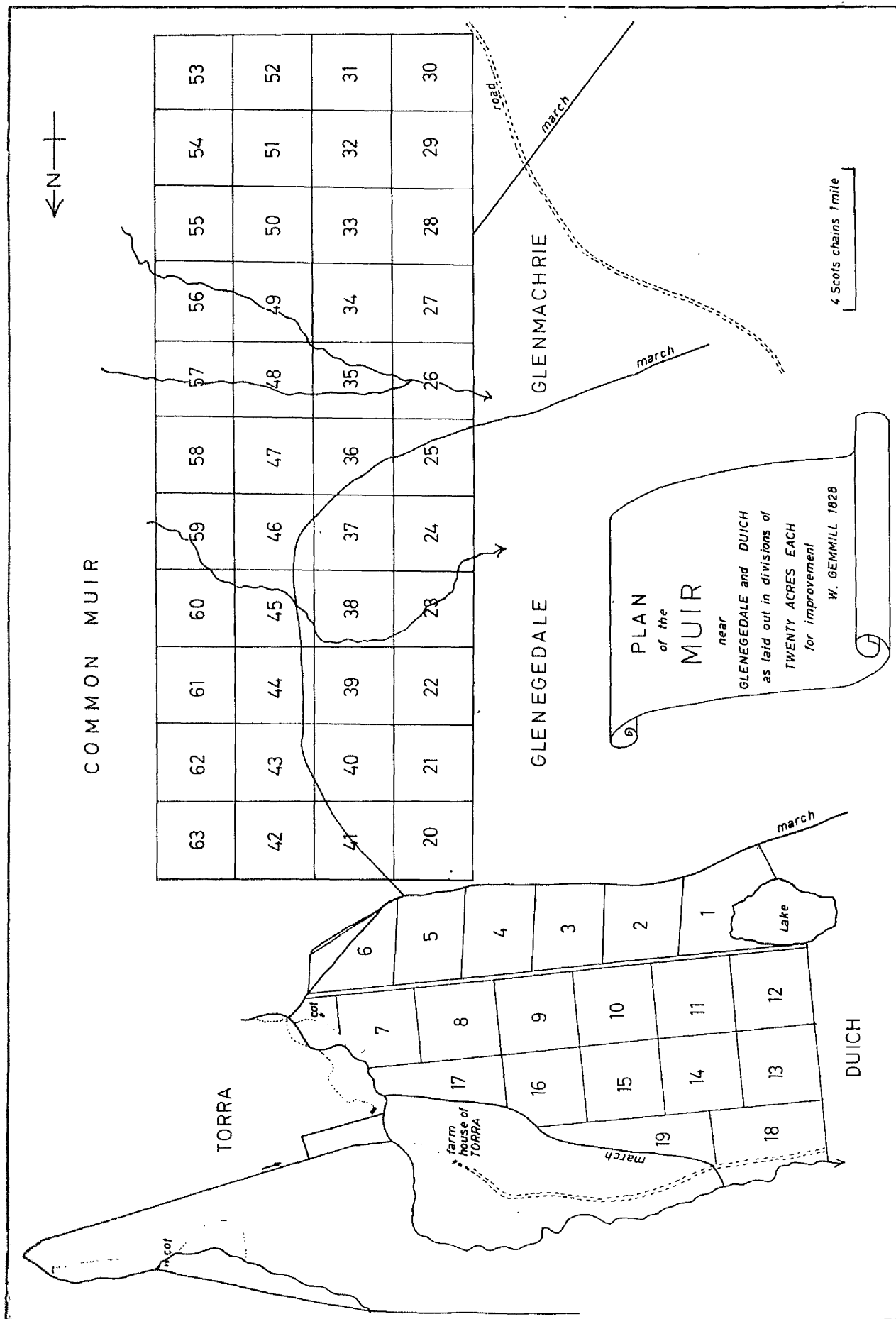


Figure 41. Plan of the Muir of Glenegeedale and Duich as laid out in equi-dimensional blocks of twenty acres, after Gemmill, 1828. Settlement was to be dispersed on the lots.

reproduced in figures 40a and 40b. The Draft shows the manner in which lots were laid out by reclamation and improvement of the muir. The more detailed plan of the lots shows the 52 narrow strips; each contained a different tenant's name, and according to the quality of the land which it contained, the rent varied from five shillings to fifteen shillings per strip. Many of the tenants had been encouraged to build houses in the village and to engage in the fishing industry which was at the time proving very prosperous. The words, referring to the houses, "finished, building, commenced, nothing done" demonstrate the progress of building in the planned semi-circular village round the harbour. Again the names of these new village tenants can often be traced from earlier rentals to neighbouring townships in the Rhinns which were reduced in numbers by clearance or reduction. Several came from Kilsheeran; some from Lossit and Nerabolis. The decline of line fishing as the century progressed led to decline in use of the strips as will be discussed in the next chapter.

#### MUIR LOTS.

The reclamation of muir land in regularly shaped lots by village tenants was paralleled elsewhere on peaty lowlands in Kintyre by the establishment of schemes of lots for agricultural tenants displaced from joint farms. One such scheme is shown in figure 41. This depicts a reproduction of Gemmill's "Plan of the Muir near Glenegidale and Duich as laid out in Divisions of Twenty Acres each for improvement", dated 1828. This scheme was never carried out completely but large parts of the area of peat bog over boulder clay and raised beach were regularly laid out along the lines suggested and houses were built dispersed on the reclaimed holdings. The lots became known variously as Duich Muir Lots, Glenegidale Muir Lots and Glenmachrie Muir Lots.

Even the setting up of these muir lots in Islay was of a different kind to that conceived by most Hebridean and Highland lairds. Again the absence of common grazing is noticed, despite the vast areas of hill grazing above the lots. Instead the principle of one piece of land for each tenant was adhered to; the small tenant with his lot; the large cattle and sheep farmer with the hill behind. In Ardnamurchan-Sunart however similar muir reclamation was accompanied by different patterns on the ground to form the more familiar crofting township with common grazing. Small adjacent lots of muir land were reclaimed and improved from Moss of Kentra to form consolidated pieces of arable land or crofts for tenants in Kentra and Newton (fig. 34a & b). But the greater part of the muir was retained as common grazing for the township, conforming to the characteristic revolutionary Highland pattern.

#### SETTLEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES.

By the last decades of the nineteenth century there was little land or population congestion in Islay, and even from Ardnamurchan and Sunart there were few outcries to the Royal Commission reporting on the Highlands and Islands in 1892. By this time isolation from Lowlands centres of employment was not very considerable from Islay or from the peninsula in comparison to still remoter parts of the Highlands and Islands. Both areas by that time were areas of depopulation of townships in which an adequate living could not be made solely from the land. Population was not overabundant as in the Outer Hebrides<sup>1</sup> for example and few resettlement schemes were initiated either by the proprietors or by the Government. In fact none of the schemes suggested by the Commissioners for either the island or the peninsula were in fact acted upon. Again in the twentieth century several schemes were talked of, in common with the rest of the West

1. See for example Appendix 3.

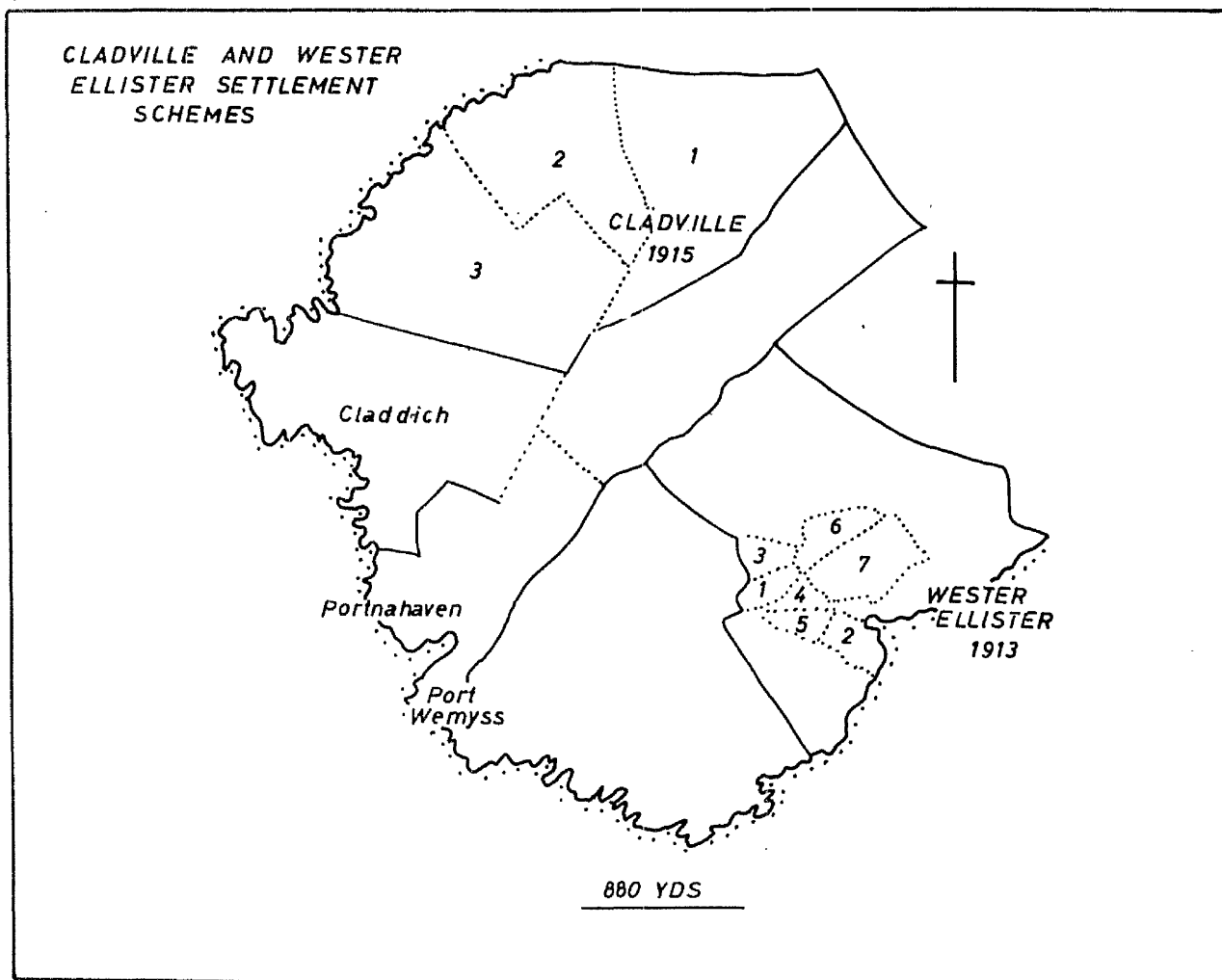


Figure 42. Settlement schemes of Cladville and Wester Ellister in Islay. Cladville has now reverted to one effective unit.

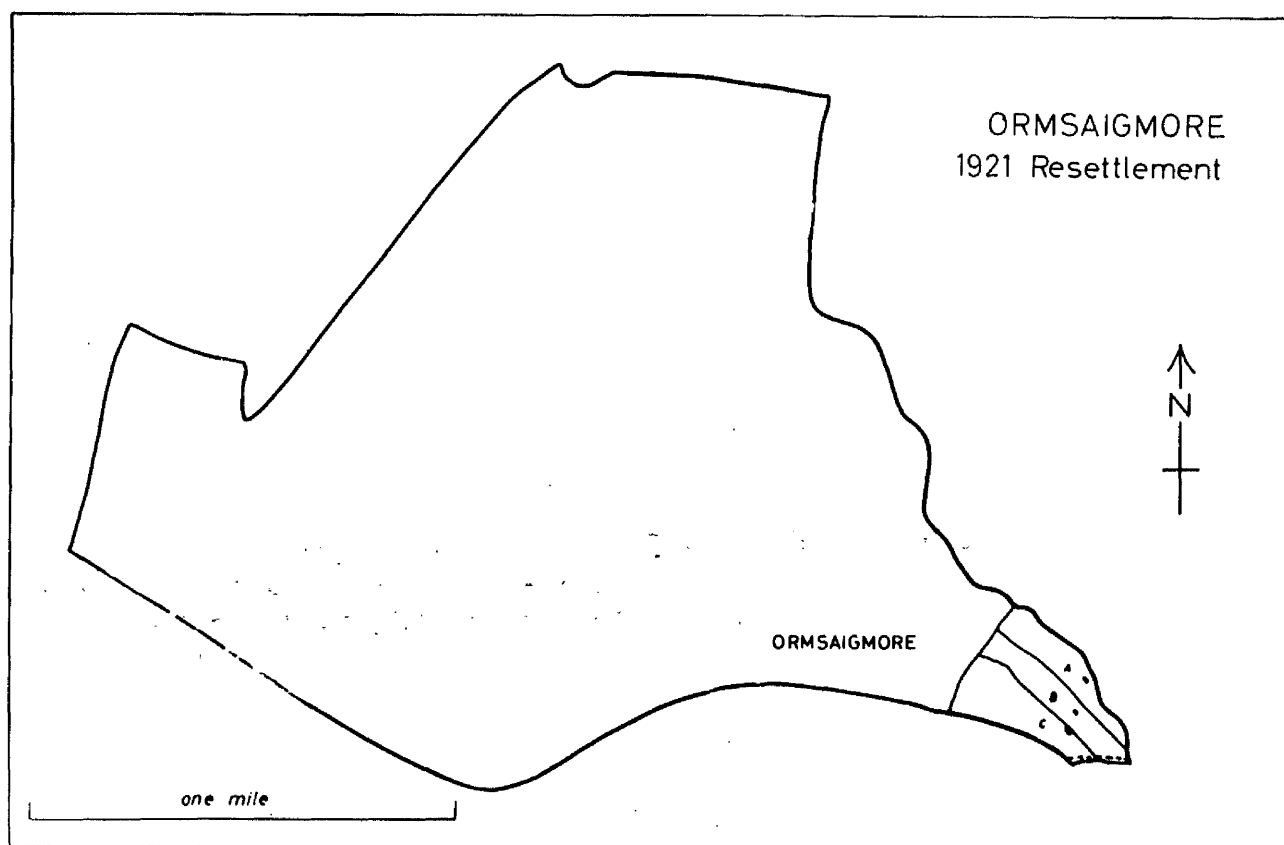
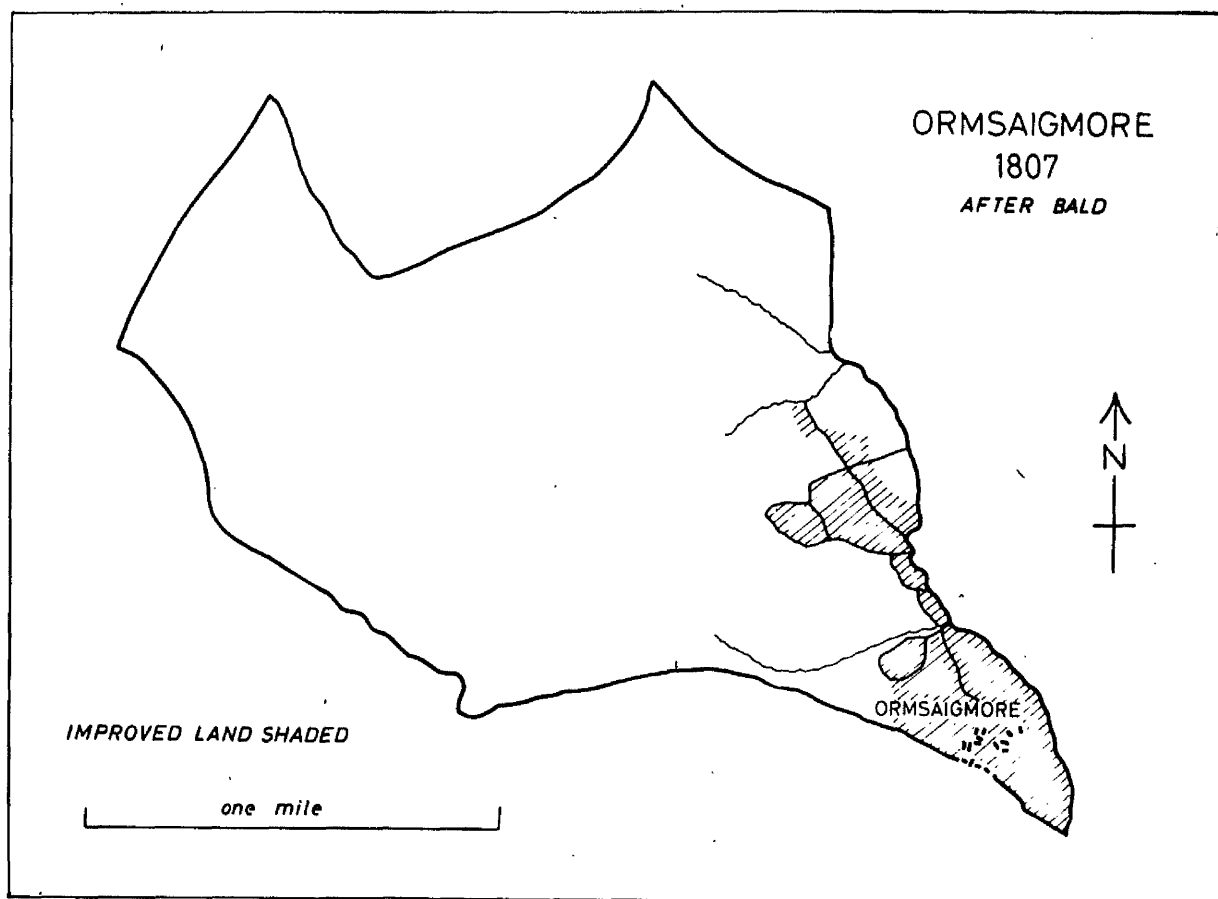


Figure 43. Ormsaigmore in western Ardnamurchan.

43a. The joint township in 1807. It was cleared later in the century.

43 b. The land settlement scheme of Ormsaigmore in 1921. This took the form of a crofting township of three crofts, and common grazing.

Highland Region, but only a few land resettlement schemes were in fact actually set up in these two areas for returning ex-servicemen or as enlargements for village tenants. In Islay for example the farms of Gladville and Ballymony (figure 42) were settled as three and four small holdings. Wester Ellister was split up into several pieces of land as additions to the holdings of Port Wemyss villagers.

Likewise in Sunart the farms of Ranachan and Drimnatorran were divided into separate consolidated holdings whilst that of Ormsaigmore in Ardnamurchan was set up in the pattern of a crofting township with individual croftlands and common grazing (figure 43b).

#### AMALGAMATION.

Amalgamation of single farms into larger units took place in the first half of the nineteenth century in Islay and Ardnamurchan-Sunart when large grazing farms were formed. But it is more essentially a feature of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially in Islay. There, single farms had largely been established by the 1870's, with the exception of some groups of small holdings and lotments, and population decrease was proceeding from rural areas at a faster rate than in many other areas of the West Highland region, where land congestion and overpopulation remained characteristic well into the twentieth century. In Islay in the interior basins and valleys of the central Rhinns, the north-east and south-east hill masses, and the Oa, some townships which had become single farms by the middle of the nineteenth century frequently amalgamated to form one unit thereafter - for example the two townships of Olistadh and Gearach in the Rhinns. (See Chap. 8, figure 44). The twentieth century has seen the fairly rapid advance of amalgamation in Islay especially in the remoter edges of the midland valley and in the peninsulas of Kildalton and Oa.

In some cases several farms are tenanted by one farmer but are run as separate units with or without managers. In others the divisions between farms have been eliminated. And in most the result on settlement is usually a further ruined or unoccupied dwelling house.

In Ardnamurchan-Sunart there has been little late nineteenth century or twentieth century amalgamation of farms since the landscape of large grazing farms or sporting forests and crofting townships was largely established by the 1860's. In such a framework amalgamation as such cannot easily function, though the parallel process of assimilation of holdings in the crofting townships has gone on apace throughout the twentieth century.

#### PLANTATIONS AND AFFORESTATION.

Late eighteenth and early nineteenth century "laird's plantations" of ornamental deciduous trees and shrubs around mansion houses and of other woods elsewhere on the estates account for much of the green colouring on Ordnance Survey one-inch maps of both Isley and Ardnamurchan-Sunart. This forms a fairly atypical feature of the West Highland region as a whole. Apart from keeping existing plantations in order, and a few new plantations, there was little activity later in the century by successive landlords and trusts. In the present century woodlands have either been maintained by private landlords, or allowed to decay. Or alternatively, as in Sunart, the Forestry Commission has acquired land and has carried out extensive coniferous planting on some of the ground of several former large tacks such as Polloch and Glenhurich. Several areas of the south side of the peninsula along the northern shore of Loch Sunart as far west as Salem have also been planted by the Commission.

Chapter 8. COMBINATIONS OF SINGLE AND MULTIPLE PROCESSES OF EVOLUTION OF LANDHOLDINGS AND THE PATTERNS PRODUCED IN ISLAY AND ARDNAMURCHAN-SUNART.

The evolution from tacks to single farms appears to have been straightforward in the majority of cases, with sporadic straightening of dykes, replacement of buildings, reclamation of muir and peat land throughout the successive centuries from the eighteenth. In many of the farms at the present day one can envisage the older order of the tacks which have undergone these changes throughout time. Other tacks of the eighteenth century subsequently became joint farms, and these, together with the remaining joint farms have been affected by many different processes of evolution and usually by more than one at successive intervals of time. Moreover some of these processes, especially those of assimilation and amalgamation, are continuing at the present day. This feature of several processes and phases of evolution was more typical of the island than of the peninsula. The ideas of the Agricultural Revolution were introduced earlier but were less total in their results over any short period; were either sporadic or repetitive; and were often only partially introduced (e.g. reduction and reorganisation) to be followed by more gradual evolution by dwindling. There was a much longer period of change.

Side by side with this were two important factors differing from those existing over much of the West Highlands and Islands. From Islay migration to the Lowlands of Scotland and overseas had been taking place gradually from the latter eighteenth century and early nineteenth century; and the definite and distinct policy of the Shawfield Campbells from the eighteenth century onwards was to separate farmers from agricultural



day-labourers, craftsmen, fishers, foresters, miners, distillers or others in the villages. There were relatively fewer people dependent on the land than elsewhere in the region as a whole, and this in itself made reorganisation, either planned or spontaneous, easier, not only in the earlier stages of the introduction of the Agricultural Revolution, but also in the later stages of the evolution of the holdings. Instead, in Ardnamurchan and Sunart, change on any considerable scale was not attempted until the time when subsidiary sources of livelihood in kelp manufacture and fishing were no longer available and the population was already too numerous for the available land. Much more drastic revolution occurred in most areas, and was usually effected by one single process. The process of dwindling numbers of tenants, common in Islay in the nineteenth century, was more characteristic of the peninsula later in the century, and has continued to the present day. The effects of this on the utilisation of the land will be discussed more fully in Chapter 10.

The aim of this chapter is to illustrate the multiple processes of evolution of the landholdings resulting from one or several of the various processes occurring successively through time on any one landholding. These were characteristic of multiple tenancies in Islay. But they were less characteristic of Ardnamurchan where one of the two single processes of revolution, clearance or lotting of crofting townships occurred, perhaps later followed by increase and subdivision or by dwindling.

For the purposes of regional differentiation in the evolution of present-day patterns of landholdings and settlement, the holdings which become single holdings direct from tacks are omitted in the present chapter, as also are the holdings which suffered one single process such as clearance or reorganisation, with few subsequent changes since. In all the other holdings, exact repetitions of the same process are rare although successive phases

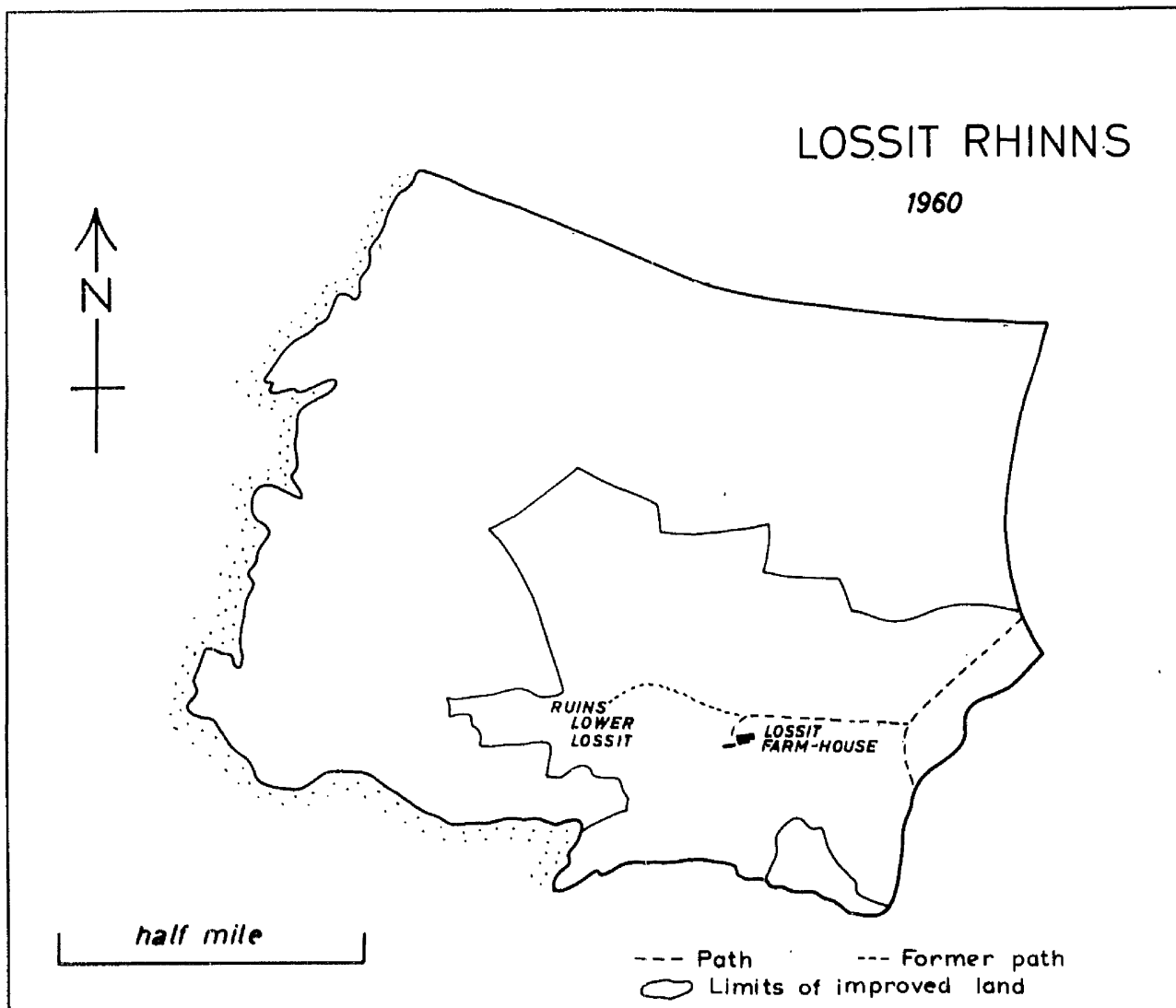
of parallel change such as reduction and clearance, or of assimilation and amalgamation are common. The list below summarises the major ways in which any one joint farm was affected by several processes to become the landholding or landholdings of today. In almost all cases the process of increase and subdivision had occurred in the latter parts of the eighteenth and in the first quarter of the nineteenth century before the succeeding processes took place.

MULTIPLE PROCESSES OF EVOLUTION OF LANDHOLDINGS IN ISLAY AND ARDNAMURCHAN-SUNART.

INCREASE AND SUBDIVISION	<u>REDUCTION</u>	CLEARANCE TO FARM	Lossit
do.	do.	AMALGAM.	Goarach
do.	do.	DWINDLING TO FARM	-Olistadh
do.	do.	DWINDLING TO SMALL HOLDING	Barr
do.	<u>DEFINITE REORGANISATION OF SMALL HOLDINGS</u>		
do.		CLEARED TO FARM	Nerebolls
do.		DWINDLED TO FARM	Lurabus
do.		DWINDLED TO SMALL HOLDINGS	Craigfad
do.		LATER REORGANISATION	Carnduncan
do.	<u>LOTTING OF GROFTING TOWNSHIPS</u>		
do.		INCREASE AND SUBDIVISION	
do.		do. then DWINDLING	Ormsaigbeg
do.		DWINDLING TO FARM	Kilmory
do.	<u>DWINDLING</u>	CLEARED	Branault
		AMALGAMATION OF SMALL HOLDINGS IN ADJACENT TOWNSHIPS	Nosobridge
			Kendrochit
			Grulinbeg

AMALGAMATION by dwindling numbers of tenants

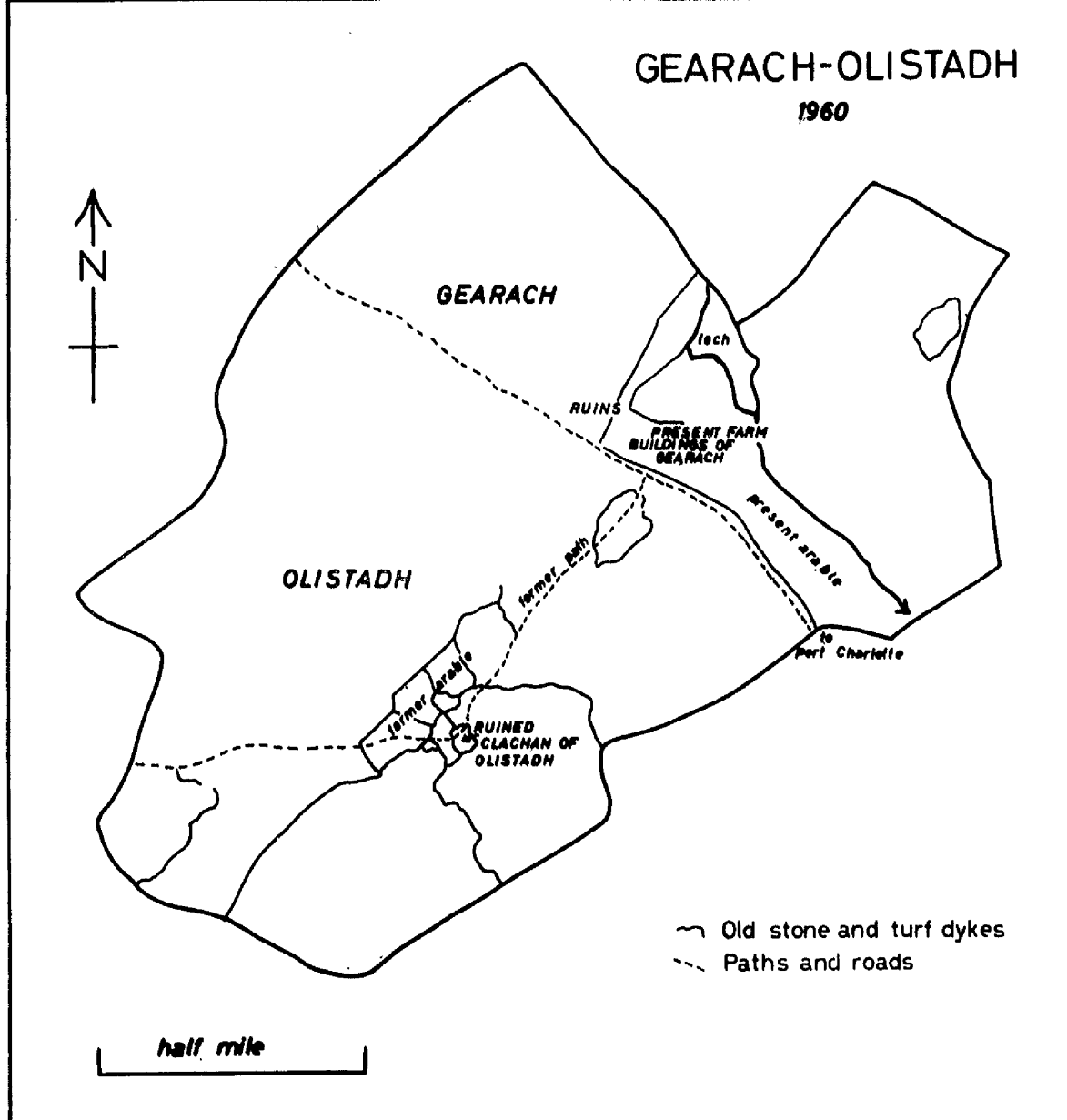
VILLAGE LOTS	Port Wemyss
MUIR LOTS	Glenegidale
SETTLEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES.	



LOSSIT RHINNS.      In tack until around 1795, when Lossit appears as a joint farm with several tenants.

<u>1805</u>	<u>1824</u>	<u>1855</u>	<u>1848</u>	<u>1852</u>
J. Carmichael	J. Carmichael heirs £7.10.0.			
	wid. J. MacDougall 7.10.0.			
N. MacPadyen	D. McKenzie 10. 0.0.	D. McKenzie £50.0.0. (to Olinda 1838)		
		U. Lossit		
A. Gillies	J. Gillies 15.12.0.	A. Gillies 57.10.0.	A. Gillies £25. 1.0.	
		L. Lossit		
D. McIntyre	W. McKenzie 12. 8.0.	W. McKenzie 50. 0.0.	W. and J. Mackenzie 100. 4.6.	
		U. Lossit		
F. McIntyre	F. McIntyre 7.10.0.	F. McIntyre 12.10.0.		
	G. McIntyre 7.10.0.	P. McIntyre 25. 0.0.	P. McIntyre 55.11.6.	
		L. Lossit		
M. MacAulay	wid. J. McKenzie 7.10.0.			
N. Gillies	D. McLorgan 7.10.0.			
D. MacPadyen	D. MacPadyen 15. 0.0.	A. McGilvray 25. 0.0.	J. McLean 25. 0.0.	
		L. Lossit		
J. Brown	J. Brown 16.15.0.			
9 tenants	11 tenants	6 tenants	5 tenants	1 farmer

Figure 44b. Lossit, Rhinns, today, with relict traces of 19th. century land organisation and settlement pattern.  
 44b. Tenancy diagram : reduction, dwindling and clearance.



OLISTADH. Single farm until 1825 when tenants cleared from Kilohearan rented Olistadh									
1833				1835		1838		1861	1871
A. McPhaden	4'	£17.10.0.		Same	X				
R. McCaffer	4'	17.10.0.		Same					
A. Bell	1/6th.	11.13.4.		Same		D. Mackenzie	In arrears		With
J. McNeill	1/6th.	11.13.4.		Same		from Lossit			Gearach
A. McAllister	do.	11.13.4.		Same					

GEARACH. Small tenants in 1733 but single tenant 1795. Between 1816 and 1824 again subdivided for small tenants.									
1824				1833		1838		1861	1871
G. Montgomery	4'	£13.15.0.							
A. McVorrin	4'	13.15.0.		A. McVorrin	4'	£18 Heire		Arrears only	
A. Graham	4'	13.15.0.							
J. Montgomery	4'	13.15.0.							
(to Octomore 1832)									
W. Shanks	8'	27.10.0.		N. McNeill	6'	£27 Same		N. McNeill	1 farmer
J. Graham	8'	27.10.0.		(from Kilohearan)				37.10.1.	
				D. Bell	6'	£27 Same		Arrears only	
				C. Campbell	one-half	£72		Arrears only	

Figure 45 a. Gearach-Olistadh today, with relict traces of the nineteenth century land organisation and settlement patterns.  
45 b. Clearance in Olistadh, dwindling in Gearach ; amalgamation.

INCREASE AND SUBDIVISION. REDUCTION OF NUMBERS OF TENANTS.

CLEARANCE

Figure 44b shows the tenancy diagram for Lossit Rhinns, with characteristic increase of tenants and subdivision of holdings till 1833, followed by reduction, dwindling and finally clearance of tenants between 1848 and 1852. Figure 44a shows Lossit at the present day with the present farm house and buildings at Upper Lossit masking the existence of the former clachan there, but the ruins of Lower Lossit are still extant.

CLEARANCE AND AMALGAMATION

In Islay, Olistadh became subdivided when tenants cleared from Kilchearan settled in Olistadh in 1825 (figure 45b). Between 1835 and 1838 however, Olistadh itself was cleared and rented to one Duncan MacKenzie from Lossit Rhinns. By the 1860's the then tenant was heavily in arrears and the farm was let to the neighbouring farmer in Gearach and run as a large hill cattle and sheep farm. Likewise in Gearach, tenants from Kilchearan eventually fell into arrears of rent and by the 1860's it had become a single farm. The old clachans on both Olistadh and Gearach became ruinous, that of Olistadh remaining in a better state of preservation than that of Gearach since much of the latter was used to build the new farmhouse in the 1870's (figure 45a). Since their amalgamation, the farms of Olistadh and Gearach have been let together as a single farm unit or as additional land to nearby farms such as Kilchearan. Recently much of the old arable land of Gearach has been reploughed after an interval of nearly eighty years.

DWINDLING TO SINGLE FARM.

In the tenancy diagram for Barr in Islay (figure 46), the reduction in numbers of tenants from ten in 1824 to five in 1833 is shown. Numbers of tenants in the next decades gradually dwindled till Barr became a

BARR 1733 small tenants

<u>1772</u>	<u>1803</u>	<u>1824</u>	<u>1833</u>	<u>1848</u>	<u>1852</u>	<u>1863</u>	<u>1871</u>
D McEachern	A McFaden	A McFaden	A McPhaden	D & R Bell	H & H McKinnon	H & H McKinnon	
	3'	27.10.	20.10.	24. 2. 0	21. 5. 0		
H McVurrich	N MacDuffie	J MacDuffie	J McWiven	A McWiven	D McDougall	H & H MacKay	Currie
	3'	7.10.	24.13.5	25. 7. 4	23.13.2		£90
L MacDougall	C MacDougall	Heirs <sup>5'</sup>	D McPhaden	J Currie	J Currie		
		3'	7.10.	41. 5.	41. 8. 0.		
S MacDougall	N MacDougall	Heirs	P McHab	J McLean	J McLean		
		2'	5. 0.	15. 0.	13.11.10.		
D Campbell	D McEachern	J MacEachern	McEwen		10. 1. 0		
			10. 0.	6.18.4			
D Reid	G McEachern						
	G Keith	J Keith					
		2'	5. 0.				
	H Gilbert	J Gilchrist					
		2'	5. 0.				
		M Bell					
		2'	5. 0.				
		A McDiarmid					
		6'	15. 0.				

Figure 46. Part of tenancy diagram for Barr

NERABOLLS: The 1733 rental shows Nerabolls as a joint farm with 4 tenants. In 1795 the town was let to tenants from Gartacharra. 1802 to 1852 given below. By 1871 3 tenants as today.

1802	1824	By 1833	1848	1852
A. MacDonald	A. Macdonald 2 <sup>1</sup> £6. 5.	A. McKenzie £18	A. McKenzie £57. 3.	
A. MacArthur	J. MacArthur 2 <sup>1</sup> 6. 5.			
H. MacEachern	A. MacEachern 4 <sup>1</sup> 12. 10.	D. & A. Campbell 18		
H. Macmillan	Heirs 4 <sup>1</sup> 12. 10.	J. McDermid 18	Heirs 31. 11.	A. & M. McDermid £49. 4. 9
A. Macmillan	A. Brown 2 <sup>1</sup> 6. 5. A. Johnston 2 <sup>1</sup> 6. 5.			
J. Mackinnon	J. Mackinnon 4 <sup>1</sup> 12. 10.	A. McLergan 18	A. McLergan 10. 13.	
R. Johnston	A. Johnston 4 <sup>1</sup> 12. 10.	D. Mitchell 18		
J. Macmillan	D. Macmillan 4 <sup>1</sup> 12. 10.	A. McDonald 18		
D. McQuarrie	D. McQuarrie 2 <sup>1</sup> 6. 5.			
D. Lamond	D. Lamond 2 <sup>1</sup> 6. 5.	J. McKinnon 18		
10 tenants	11 tenants	C. Campbell 18	C. Campbell 18. 6.	G. Campbell 36. 10.
Note: Tenants almost completely changed between 1824 and 1833.				
		N. Buchanan 19. 6.		
		H. McLergan 10. 13.	D. McDermid 33. 4. 6	
	8 tenants	6 tenants	4 tenants	3 holdings

Figure 47. Part of tenancy diagram for Nerabolls, Rhinns.

LURAEUS, Oa.

1802.

1848

£13. 7. 8.

£ 6.13.10  
£ 4.14. 6

6.13.10

£22. 0.10

£15.75.

CT-074

0.1.1.1

1852

C. Campbell

H. Campbell

A. McPhee

J. Campbell

D. McKerrel

A. Campbell

A. Matheson

1861.

C. Campbell

J. Carabell

Dickkerrel

A. Campbell  
(To Canada)

(To Canada,

\_\_\_\_\_

1866

1 farmer

Figure 48. Part of the tenancy diagram for Iurabus, Ca; Islay.



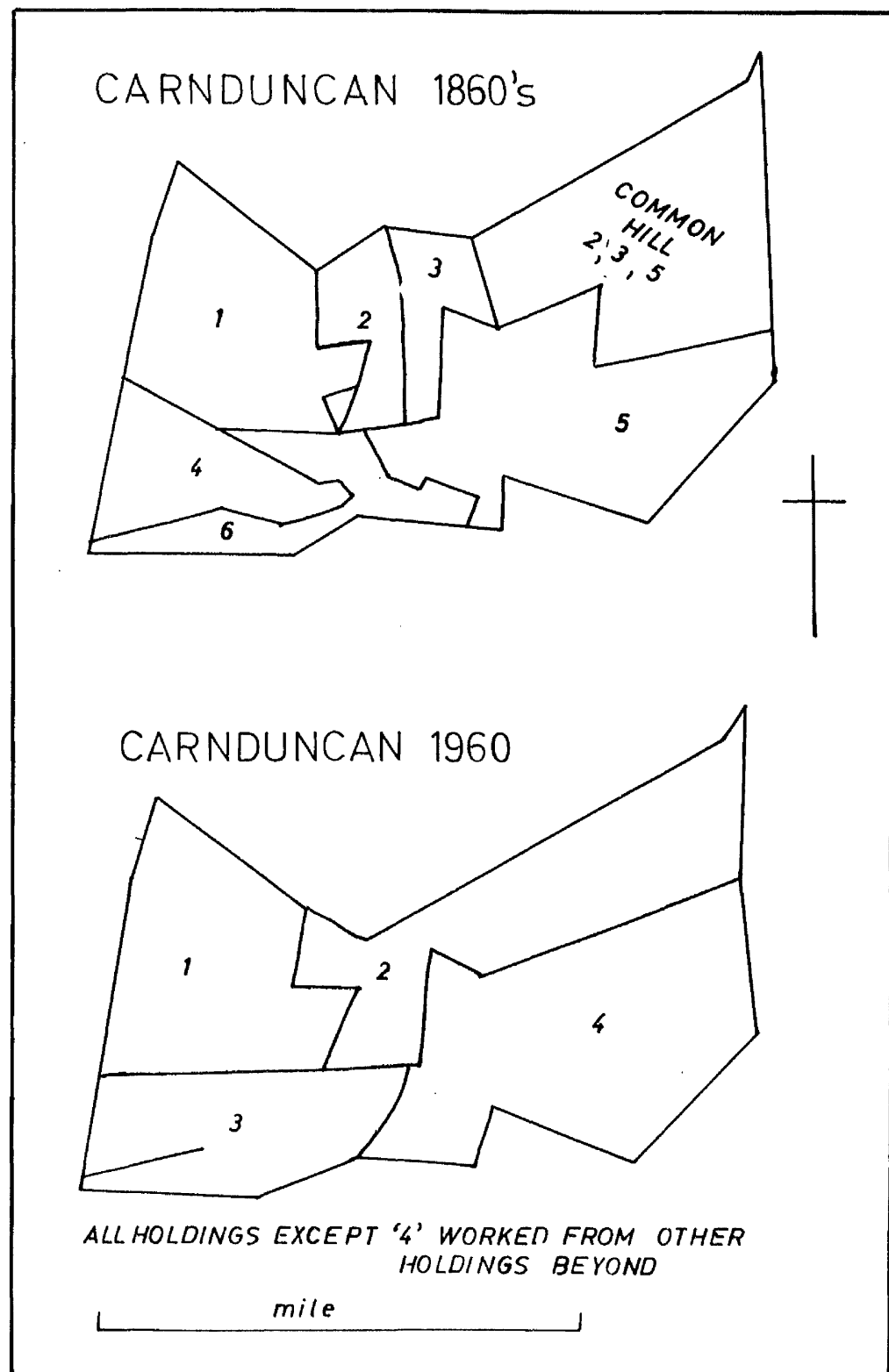


Figure 49. Land organisation and settlement in Carnduncan, Rhinns, Islay, in the 1860's and 1960's.

single tenancy by 1871.

DWINDLING TO SMALL HOLDINGS.

Similar reduction in numbers of tenants in Nerabolls Rhinns from eleven in 1824 to 8 in 1833 (fig. 47) was likewise followed by dwindling. But in this example the process has not yet reached completion. The present three tenants are related and elderly so that further dwindling in tenants will probably produce a single farm in Nerabolls in the future.

INCREASE AND SUBDIVISION. REORGANISATION OF SMALL HOLDINGS.

CLEARANCE TO SINGLE FARM.

Figure 48 illustrates the tenancy diagram for the township of Lurabus, Co. earlier depicted in figure 31b. After reorganisation into ladder groups of small holdings in the major period of change between 1825 and the 1830's, the number of tenants dwindled partly by emigration to the Lowlands and to Canada, and partly by death and celibacy. By 1861 there were only four tenants who were subsequently cleared by 1866 to make way for a sheep farm. Several of the displaced tenants moved to neighbouring Ballychatrigen in 1861<sup>1</sup> and subsequently to Port Ellen when Ballychatrigen in turn was cleared...

DWINDLED TO SINGLE FARM.

The reorganised small holdings of Craigfad (figure 31a) became gradually assimilated and amalgamated to form one single farm, Craigfad, by 1871.

DWINDLED TO SMALL HOLDINGS.

The early reorganisation of the township of Carnduncan in the Rhinns was followed by dwindling numbers of tenants until further reorganisation was

1. Minutes of Evidence, Deer Forest Commission. Vol. II, p. 788.

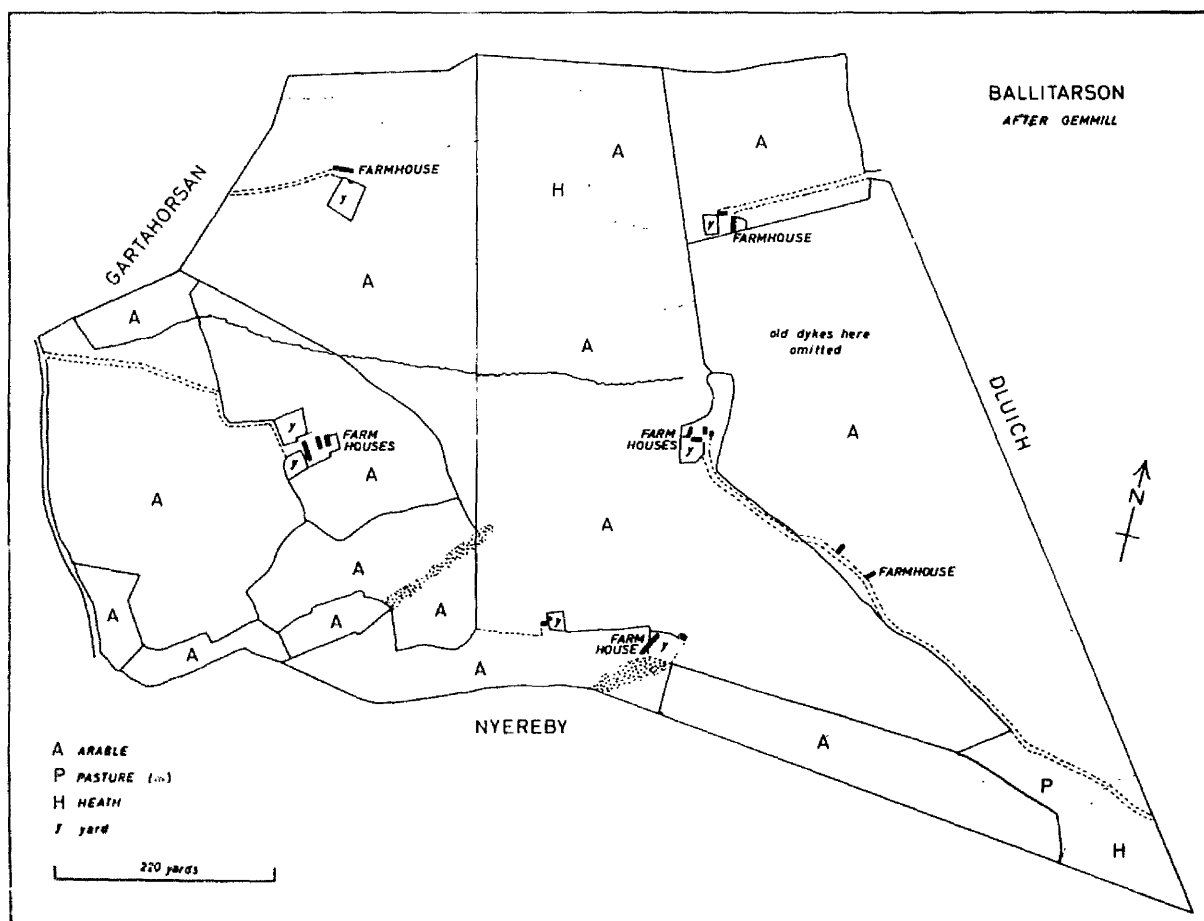
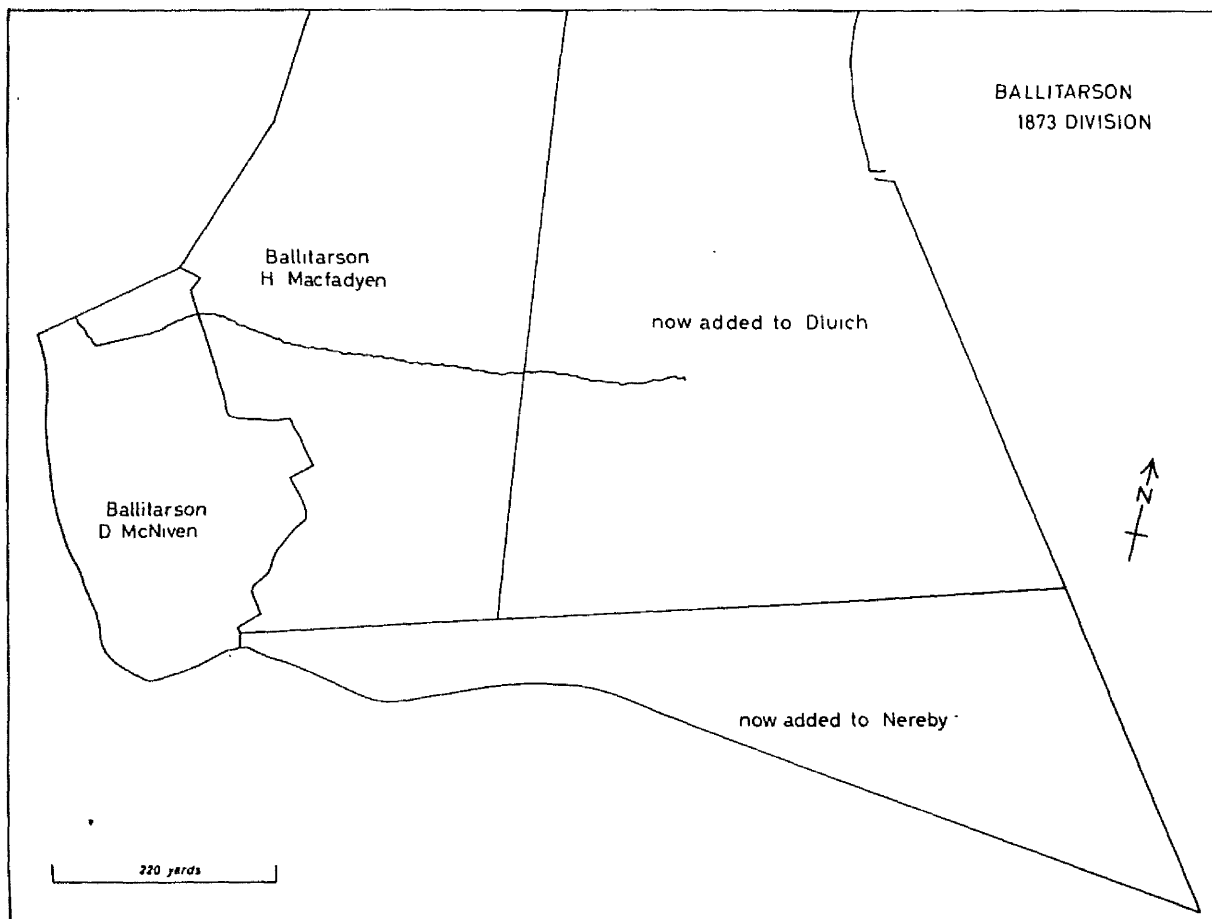


Figure 50. Double reorganisation of Ballitarson. Top, the second reorganisation of 1873. Bottom, 1820's.

necessary in the 1860's when the outlines of the present-day holdings began to appear (see figure 49).

#### LATER REORGANISATION.

This last spate of reorganisation in Islay was usually manifested in the clearance of dwindled numbers of small tenants to make way for sheep farms after the middle of the nineteenth century, and was paralleled by the enlargement of some of the smaller holdings. Thus parts of the earlier reorganised township of Ballitarsan were included in the lands of adjacent farms by the 1870's when several of the holdings had become vacant by dwindling numbers of tenants. Figure 50 depicts the new division of Ballitarsan in 1873, compared with the earlier reorganisation of the small holdings in the 1820's.

#### LOTTERING OF CROFTING TOWNSHIPS. INCREASE AND SUBDIVISION.

#### DEWINDLING NUMBERS OF AGRICULTURAL UNITS.

Ormsleigh in Ardsnachurchan, depicted on Bald's map of 1806 as a joint township (figure 51a), was one of the first townships in the peninsula to be lotted as a crofting township, early in the nineteenth century. It was laid out in crofts about the time of the Ben Hiant clearances and had a hill grazing of 1354 acres shared by the twenty-three tenants. The sown was two cows and followers, and twenty-five sheep, with the equivalence of one cow to ten sheep. The arable portions were strips of three to seven acres laid out along the marine bench west of Killochan Bay, at right angles to the shoreline (figure 51b). Each strip comprised an arable part near the sea, and pasture or outburn in the upper reaches. The crofts and grazing in Ormsleigh provided reasonably-sized family farms at the time of lotting. Houses

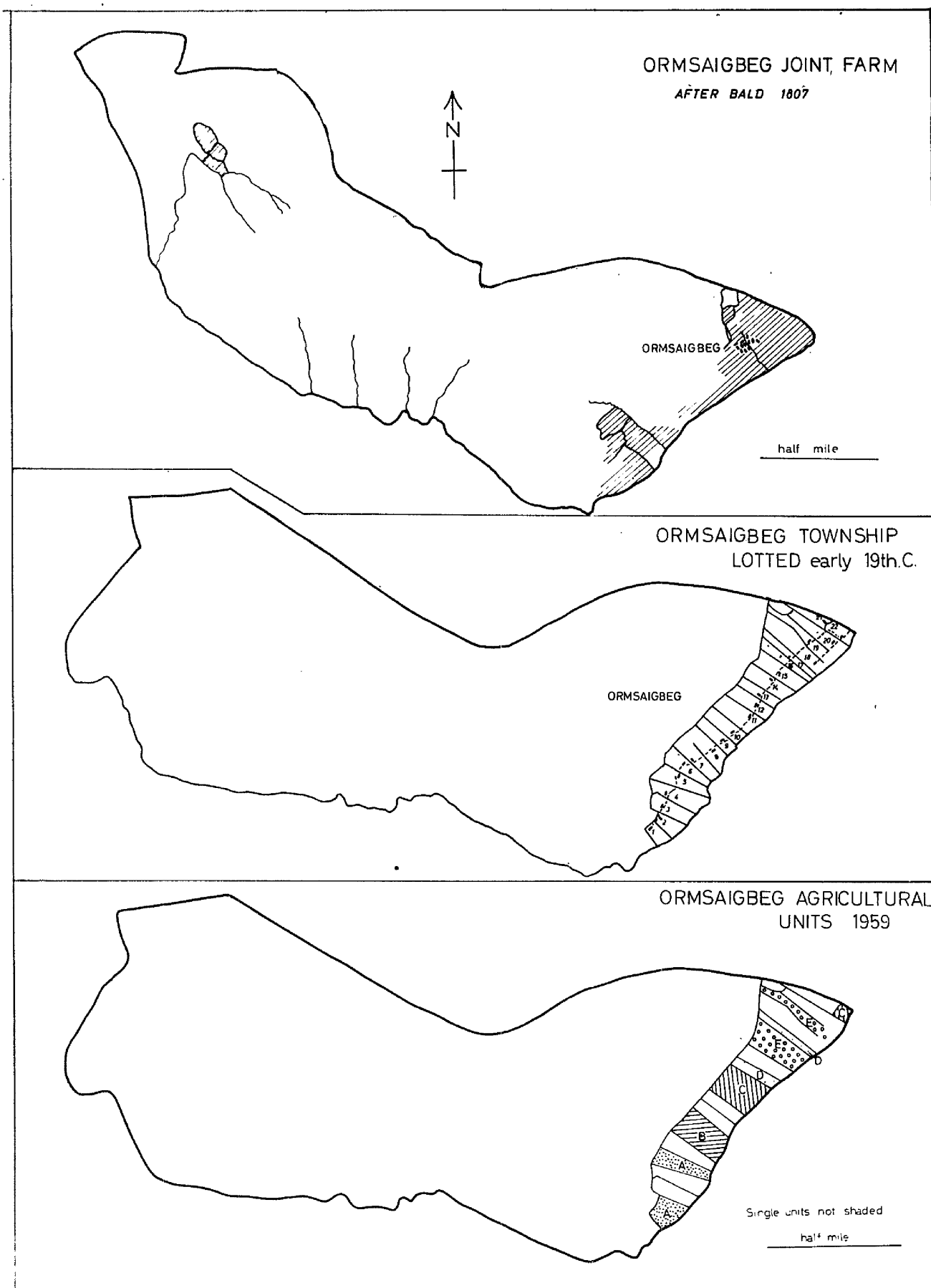


Figure 51. The present-day effects of the lotting, dwindling and amalgamation of the crofts in Ormsaigbeg, Ardnamurchan, are shown in the effective agricultural units.

were erected on each holding and formed a dispersed linear pattern along the bay. To-day only a few of these crofts are fenced off wholly or partly from one another and less than half are utilised agriculturally. Many of the rest are tenanted by people who work and live on the mainland and use the house only as a summer holiday house; others have only a ruined house on the holding. Both crofts and hill grazing are under-utilised and the township supports only three full-time crofters out of a total of twenty three tenants in the rental. Several crofts are in effect only retained as house sites. The effective agricultural units are depicted in figure 51c. Of the fourteen units seven are cultivated and keep cattle and sheep; two are cultivated and keep sheep; one is cultivated but has no stock, and the four remaining units are unworked at all. There is therefore a fairly low degree of utilisation of the land.

#### AMALGAMATION BY DWINDLING TO A FEW HOLDINGS.

Kilmory in Ardnamurchan was shown on Bald's map as a joint township in 1807. Sometime between 1834 and 1850 it was lotted in six tenancies, probably in consolidated pieces<sup>1</sup>. After clearance from the Swordies however

1. The evidence for this has been deduced from a study of present-day patterns of organisation of the holdings, together with a study of the Fair Rents list of tenants of Kilmory in 1889. The remainder of the discussion of the evolution of the present-day pattern in Kilmory, the result of subsequent subdivision followed by dwindling and amalgamation illustrates the fallacy of assuming that unconsolidated strip holdings in townships of the west Highland seaboard have never been adequately lotted in this particular township of Kilmory. According to Galley ".....runrig persisted in the West end"(of Ardnamurchan)... "and Kilmory has still never been adequately lotted into consolidated units. There the crofts consist of two and sometimes three non-adjacent patches."
2. Galley, R.A. "Settlement Changes in the South West Highlands, 1750-1850", p.150.

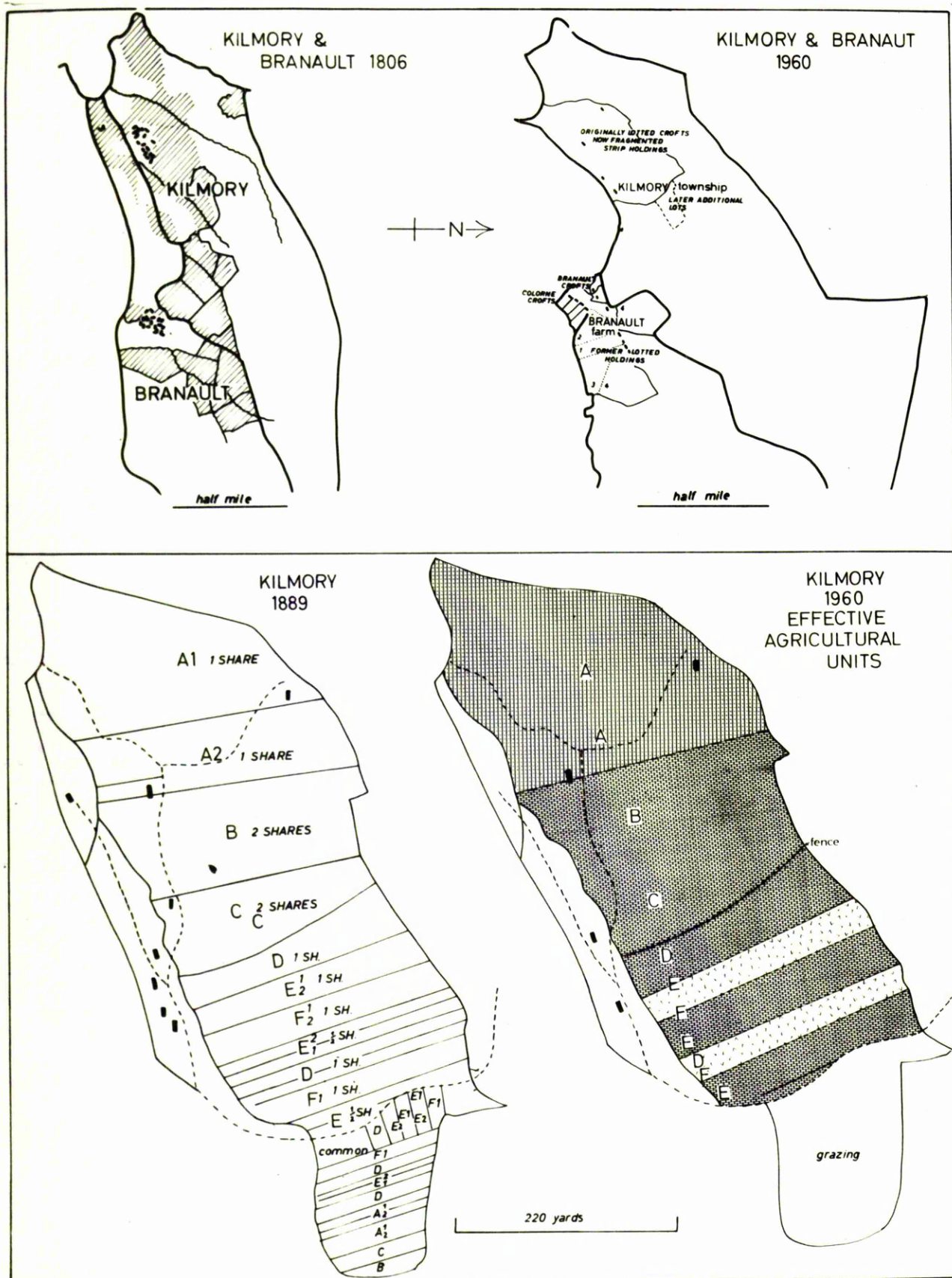
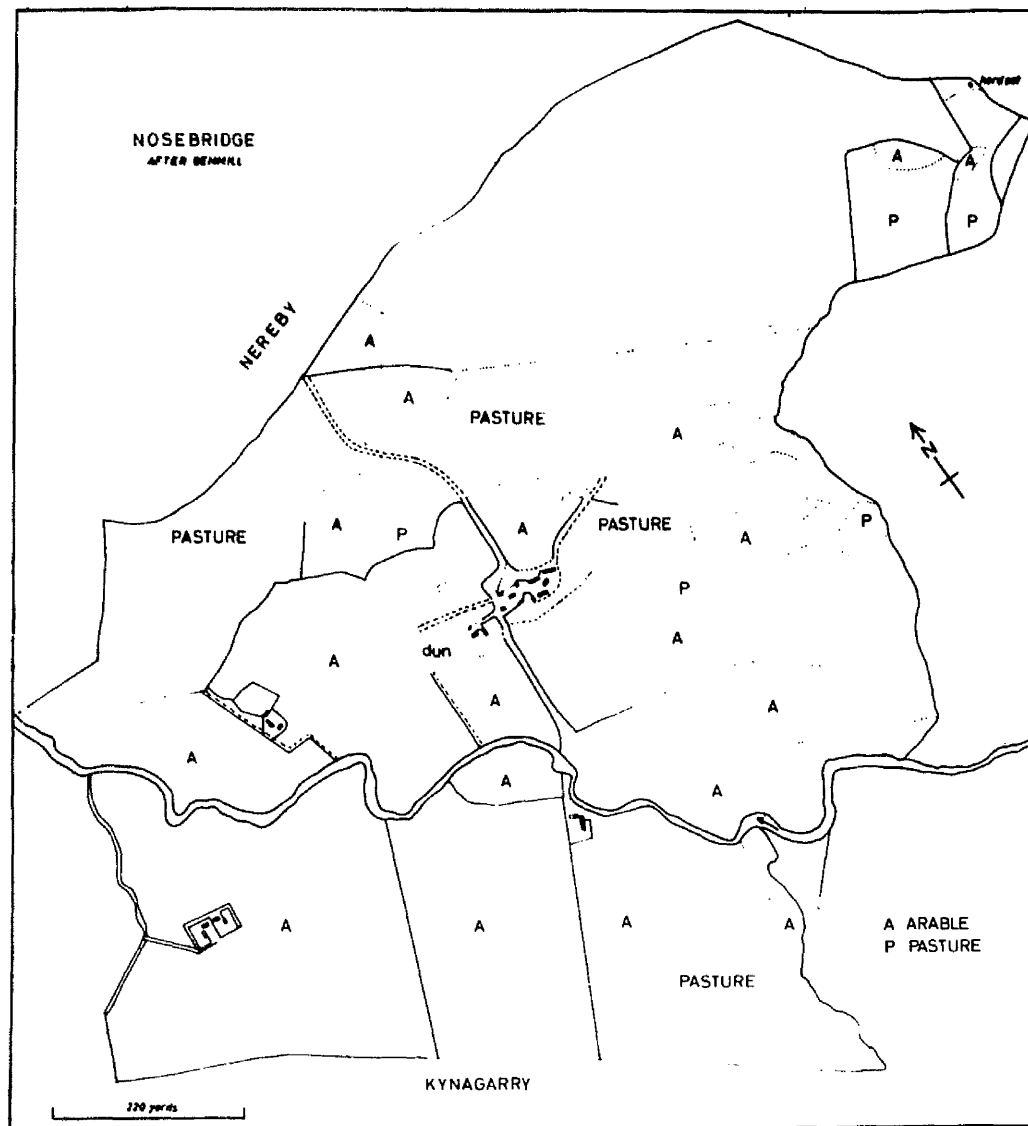


Figure 52. The townships of Kilmore and Branault in Ardnamurchan.  
 Top. The joint farms of 1807, and the present lay-out.  
 Bottom. The six original lotted shares of Kilmore after subdivision by 1889 (left). Dwindling and amalgamation have resulted in the present pattern (right).

each tenancy became subdivided - the characteristic method of the West Highlands being used whereby each existing lot or part of a divided lot was split equally in half. By the 1889 application to the Crofters Commission for Fair Rents there were 9 tenants in the township - there may even have been more just after the middle of the century with the clearance of the swordies. Perhaps the unconsolidated strip lots of 1889 were the result of amalgamation of already subdivided holdings. At any rate, by tracing back from the present holdings to those of 1889, the original six lotted holdings can be inferred (see figure 52c). With subdivision of the original arable area, there was also an extension of the arable or improved land in strips east up the valley of the Kilmory river. The manner in which these strips in the new area were held is shown in figure 52c, east of the pecked line marking the present-day road.

Figure 52d illustrates the present-day agricultural units in Kilmory. The township has virtually become three agricultural holdings although these are not all in one consolidated piece. Since the original tenancies were each entitled to keep one horse, six cows and followers, 20 sheep and 8 hogs, the resultant units of today can support substantial numbers of stock. The arable land above the present-day road, the extension to the original township arable area, has not been cultivated since the Second World War. The other arable area is enclosed wholly by a fence and within it the strips are only rarely fenced except where the arable has reverted to pasture. Then the fence is erected around the pasture and not the arable, since the holding of each tenant is still unconsolidated. Houses remain loosely dispersed, some on the original six holdings and some near the former clachan. Thus the nineteenth century processes of lotting, followed by subdivision and subsequently by amalgamation, have resulted in the present-day pattern of





Nosebridge. Small tenants in 1733 and 1779.


<u>1803.</u>	<u>1824.</u>	<u>1833</u>	<u>1848</u>	<u>1852</u>	<u>1861</u>
N.Keith	N.Keith Sr.	2' £5.2.6.	N.Keith	£ 7. 6. 0	 1 farmer
D.Keith	D.Keith	2' £5.2.6.	J.Keith	£ 7. 6. 0.	
D.Keith	H.Keith	2' £5.2.6.	D.Keith	£ 7. 6. 0.	
D. McDougall	D. McDougall	4' £10.5.0.	H.Keith	£ 7. 6. 0.	
J. MacEwan	J. MacEwan	4' £9.15.0	D. McDougall	£ 7. 6. 0.	
N. Mackay	N. Mackay	4' £9.15.0	J. McDougall	£ 7. 6. 0.	
W. Gilchrist	A. McNab	4' £14.0.0.	J. MacEwan	£13.17.9.	
A. McCong	A. McCong	4' £9.15.0.	N. Mackay	£13.17.9.	
D. McCorquodale	D. McCorquodale	2' £5.2.6.	A. McKay	£13.17.9.	
A. McCorquodale	A. McCorquodale	2' £5.2.6.	A. McCong	£19.10.9.	
				D. McDougall	
				A. Jameson	A. Jameson
				Heirs	£7.17.8.
				N. Mackay	H. Mackay
				A. MacNab	£11.12.0.
				Heirs	Heirs
					£22.1.6.
					P. and D. Carmichael
					£32.2.6.

Figure 53. 53a. Multiple township of Nosebridge in the 1820's.  
53b. Part of tenancy diagram for Nosebridge, Islay.



Above. Figure 53c.  
The clachan of Nose-  
bridge in Islay,  
abandoned in the  
mid-nineteenth  
century.



Left. Figure 53d.  
Cultivation rigs of  
the former multiple  
township of Nose-  
bridge in Islay.

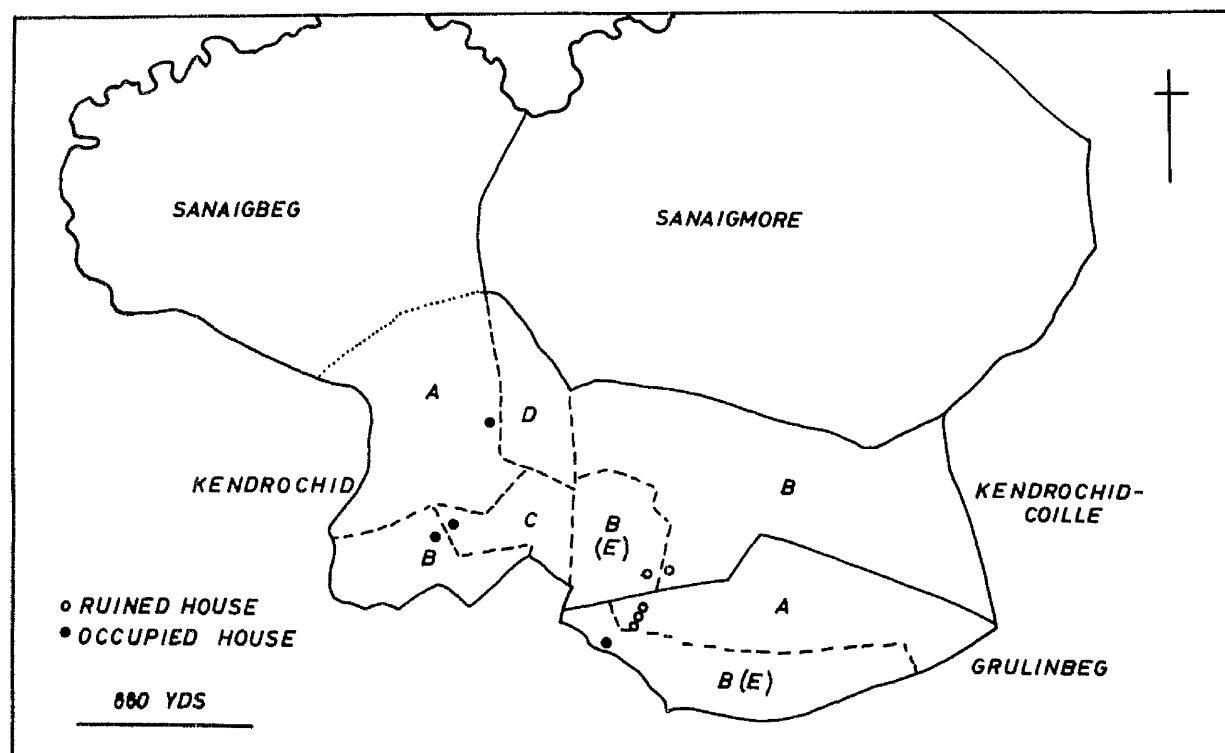
unconsolidated units perhaps eventually dwindling to form one single farm. At present a total of twenty cows and some 100 ewes are kept in the township by the three families but two of these have other occupations and are not full-time crofters.

#### DWINDLING TO A SINGLE FARM.

Brennalt is an example of a former township which after letting in the first half of the nineteenth century has gradually dwindled in numbers until it has become a single tenancy farm. As shown in Figure 52b, the layout of the lots in Brennalt was different from that of the more usual West Highland township such as Kilnassy, with long strips. In Brennalt each of the four crofts was a different, but more equi-dimensional shape. A common grazing of over 500 acres shared by the four tenants allowed the grazing of four horses, twenty-four cows and followers, and 160 sheep. By 1839, crofts 2, 3, and 4 had come under the tenancy of one family of McLaughlin brothers. Later the former tenant of Scordie farm took over the tenancy of the remaining croft, and his brother of the other three. Recently the entire farm was taken over and bought by the farmers of Scordie once again.

#### INCREASE AND SUBDIVISION. DWINDLING TO SMALL HOLDINGS THEN CLEARED.

Figure 53b illustrates the increase of tenants in Rosebridge in Islay followed by gradually dwindling numbers after 1824 until the township was cleared in the wave of clearances in the interior valleys of Kilnassy and Kilarrow. The township as it was in Gemmill's time between the 1820's and 1830's is depicted in Figure 53a. At the present day the ruins of the clachan below Dun Rosebridge are visible (Figure 53c) as also are the former cultivation rigs below Dun Rosebridge itself (Figure 53d).



# KENDROCHID AND SANAIGBEG.

Kendrochid in tack until 1779 when leased to 7 small tenants. Sanaigbeg run as a separate farm until 1852 when taken in with one holding to form the present holding of Kendrochid-Braigo.

<u>1802.</u>	<u>1824.</u>	<u>1833.</u>	<u>1839.</u>	<u>1846.</u>		
J. Leitch	J. Leitch A. Leitch	£8. 13. 4. 8. 13. 4.	J. Leitch £25. 0. 0.	J. Leitch £25. 1. 4.	H. McCormick £27. 11. 4. C	
J. McCannell	J. McCannell A. McCannell	8. 13. 4. 8. 13. 4.	J. McCannell J. McCannell	12. 10. 0. 12. 10. 0.	J. McCannell 25. 1. 4. E	
J. Smith	A. McCannell	17. 6. 8.	M. McDonald 25. 0. 0.	G. McDonald 25. 1. 4.	A. McDonald 25. 1. 4. D	
A. Smith	J. McCannell Hrs. D. Leitch	10. 16. 8. 6. 10. 0.	G. Leitch wid. D. Leitch	15. 12. 6. 9. 7. 6.	G. Leitch M. Leitch	15. 13. 4. 9. 8. 0. D. McCormick 27. 11. 4 B
A. McCannell	A. McCannell	17. 6. 8.	A. McCannell 25. 0. 0.	H. McConachy 50. 1. 4.	A. White 50. 2. 8. Braigo A	
D. McCannell	D. McCannell G. McCannell	8. 13. 4. 8. 13. 4.	Proprietor 25. 0. 0.			

Figure 54. 54a. Kendrochid-Coille-Sanaigbeg in 1960.

54b. Part of the tenancy diagram for Kendrochid N. Rhinns, Islay.



#### AMALGAMATION OF SMALL HOLDINGS IN ADJACENT TOWNSHIPS.

The evolution of the townships of Kendrochit and Grulinbeg in the Rhinns peninsula is illustrated in figure 54. Dwindling numbers of tenants during the first half of the nineteenth century resulted in five tenancies by 1848. These are easily recognisable in the pattern of holdings today (figure 54) although the number of holdings has dwindled to four. Furthermore the tenant of one holding (D) lives on a brother's holding in Grulinbeg. These holdings in the separate townships are in fact worked as one; the position is further complicated by the same tenant in Grulinbeg subletting holdings from the township of Carnduncan immediately to the south.

#### ASSIMILATION AND AMALGAMATION.

##### VILLAGE LOTMENTS.

During the nineteenth century numbers of village tenants emigrated to the Lowlands of Scotland and beyond, for work, and by the 1860's assimilation and amalgamation of strips was well under way. Figure 55a shows the numbers of lots in use and groups of amalgamated ones in Port Wemyss then. A slight resuscitation of the village towards the end of the century, with increased activity in the herring fishing, was followed in the present century by the gradual dwindling in numbers of houses permanently occupied. This was accompanied by gradual assimilation of the village lots until now only a few villagers utilise them for stock and crops (see figure 55b). The area at present is being investigated by the Crofters Commission with a view to possible reorganisation. Since some of the holdings are not in fact officially registered as crofts but as small agricultural tenancies, they are not subject to the Crofters Act of 1961, reorganisation is

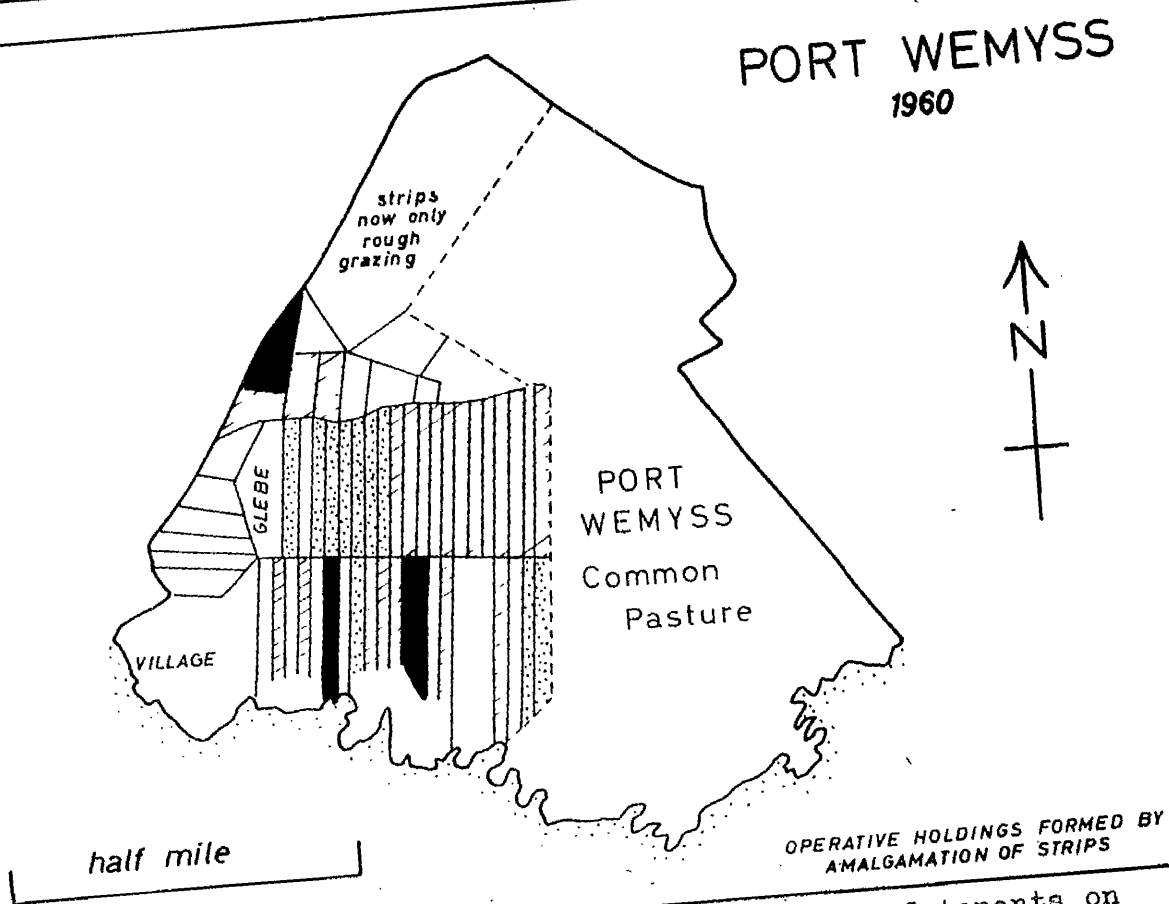
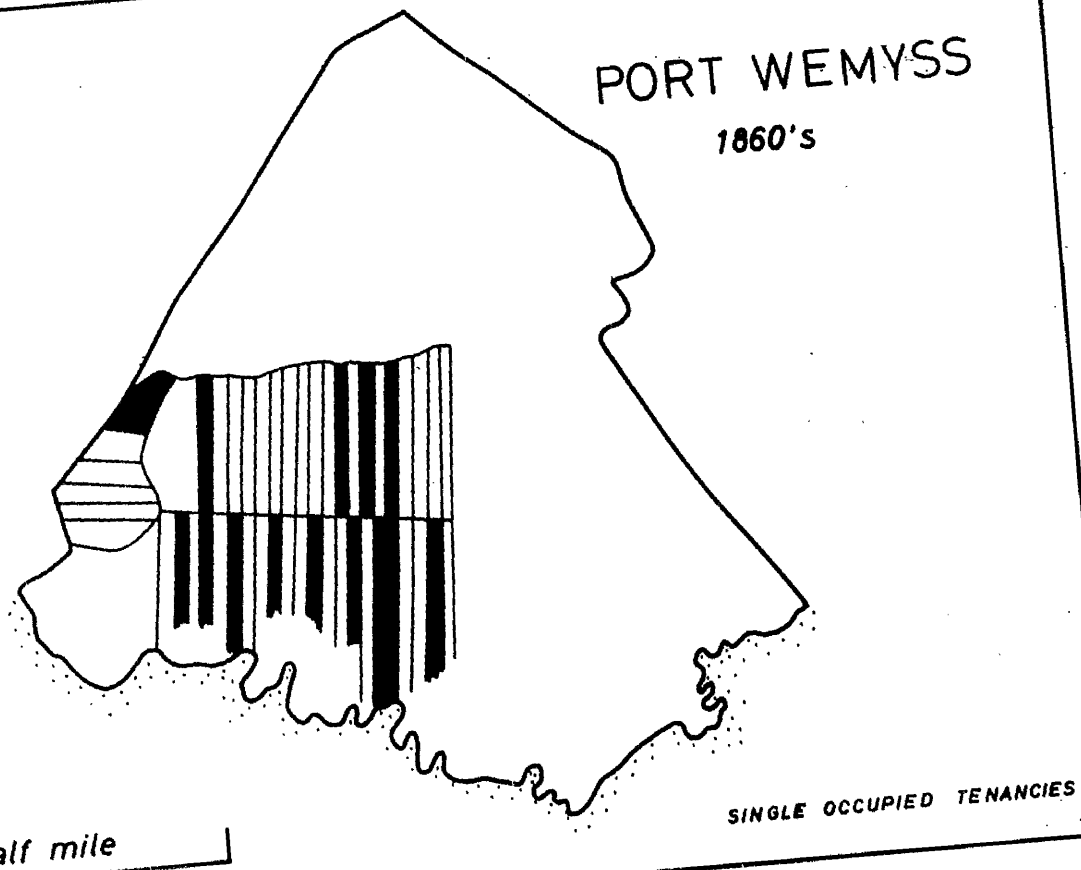


Figure 55. The effects of dwindling numbers of tenants on the village lotments of Port Wemyss.

55a. Top. Single occupied tenancies in the 1860's are shaded.

55b. Bot. 100 years later only a few effective units remain.

**BOWMORE VILLAGE LOTS**

The map displays a complex arrangement of land parcels, each labeled with a letter or number. The parcels are distributed across the village area, with some larger central plots and many smaller peripheral ones. The labels include: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z, and various combinations of these letters and numbers.

**Acres**


Figure 56. Bowmore village lots in 1955. Each letter refers to a different village tenant. Some tenants have several strips or blocks, scattered or adjacent. Much subletting takes place as well.

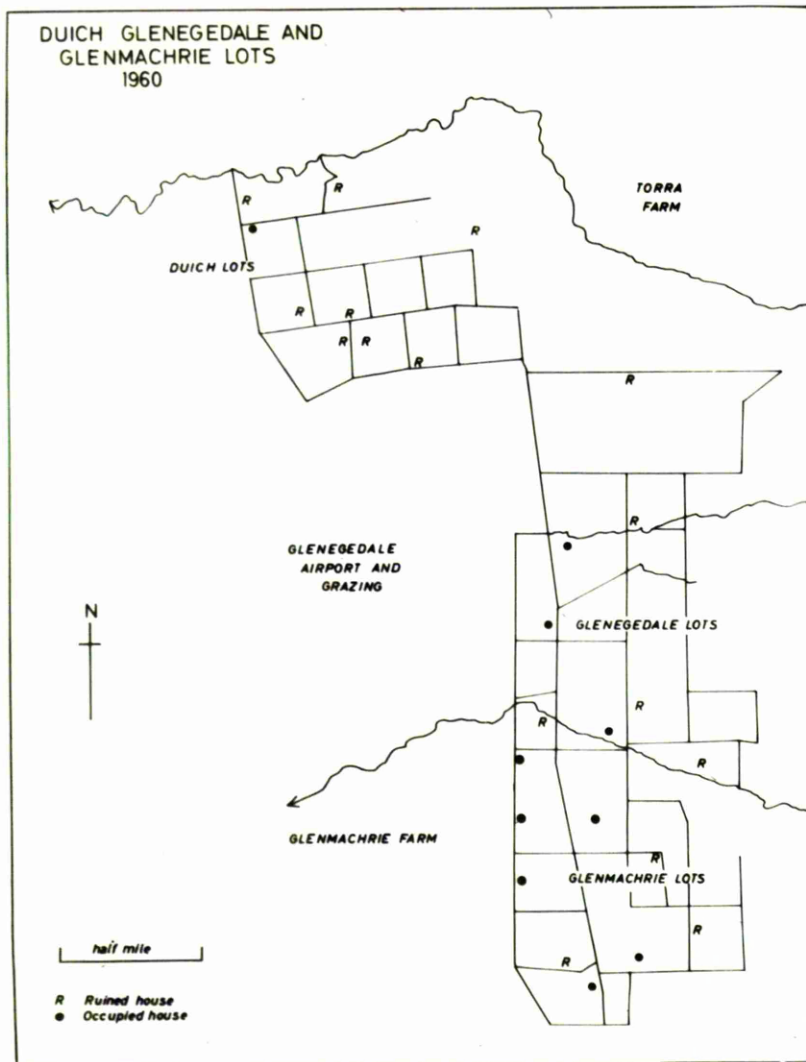


Figure 57a. Muir lotments in Islay at the present day.  
57b. Occupied and ruined houses on adjacent lots  
at Glenmachrie.



impossible until this difficulty is overcome by the transfer of these agricultural small holdings to crofter tenancies.

Figure 56 shows the number of legal tenancies in the Bowmore village lotments in the mid-1950's, but many of the holdings are not now utilised at all and are reverting to ill-drained pasture. The remainder effectively form three agricultural small holdings, in scattered parts, and are used by the three village dairymen.

#### MUIR LOTMENTS.

The muir lotment schemes of Lyrabus, Kilchoman, and Glenegedale, were never completely settled. But many more lotments were cultivated and houses occupied in the nineteenth century than at present. Figure 57a shows the occupation of Glenegedale, Glenmachrie, Dulich and Torra lots in 1960. One of the present houses on these lots is shown in figure 57b. A ruined one is in the background.

#### SETTLEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES.

Amalgamation of single small holdings in Islay, settled earlier in the twentieth century, has occurred increasingly until the holdings concerned have mainly reverted to single farms, as for example Ballymony or Gladville in Islay. In Ardnamurchan-Sunart the same process is occurring especially in the resettlement schemes of Sunart, Drimnatorran and the Ranachans. Ormsaigmore in Ardnamurchan is still worked in the three crofts laid out in the early twentieth century.



Chapter 9. SUMMARY OF ALL PROCESSES AND PHASES OF EVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT DAY AND REGIONAL DIFFERENTIATION OF THE PATTERNS PRODUCED.

ISLAY.

Before studying the regional differentiation of the evolution of landholdings in Islay and Ardnamurchan-Sunart, general phase diagrams illustrating the phases of particular and multiple processes at work in the island and peninsula will be discussed.. For Islay these have been prepared on a parish basis since the three parishes of Kilchoman, Killarow and Kildalton and Oa, constitute three fairly distinct regions. Each is separated from the other by relatively sparsely populated areas which are covered mainly with peat bog. As will be emphasised in the discussion on regional differentiation, these parishes can be further subdivided according to quality of land and degree of isolation. Each phase diagram shows all types of evolution of landholdings from the ubiquitous tacks and joint farms of the early eighteenth century to the present day. A projection of these processes forward in time has not been added at this juncture but many are continuing at the present time.

Figure 58 shows the evolutionary phase diagram characteristic of the Rhinns peninsula, with emphasis on the major changes in evolution occurring between the 1820's and the 1840's. Thereafter the main evolutionary process occurring has been that of dwindling numbers of tenants to form the present-day single farms and groups of small holdings with nucleated or dispersed settlement. The only area in Islay in which twentieth century settlement schemes were put into operation was the southern part of the Rhinns peninsula, in Cladville, Ballymony and Wester Ellister.

A similar phase diagram for the parish of Killarow and Kilmeny is

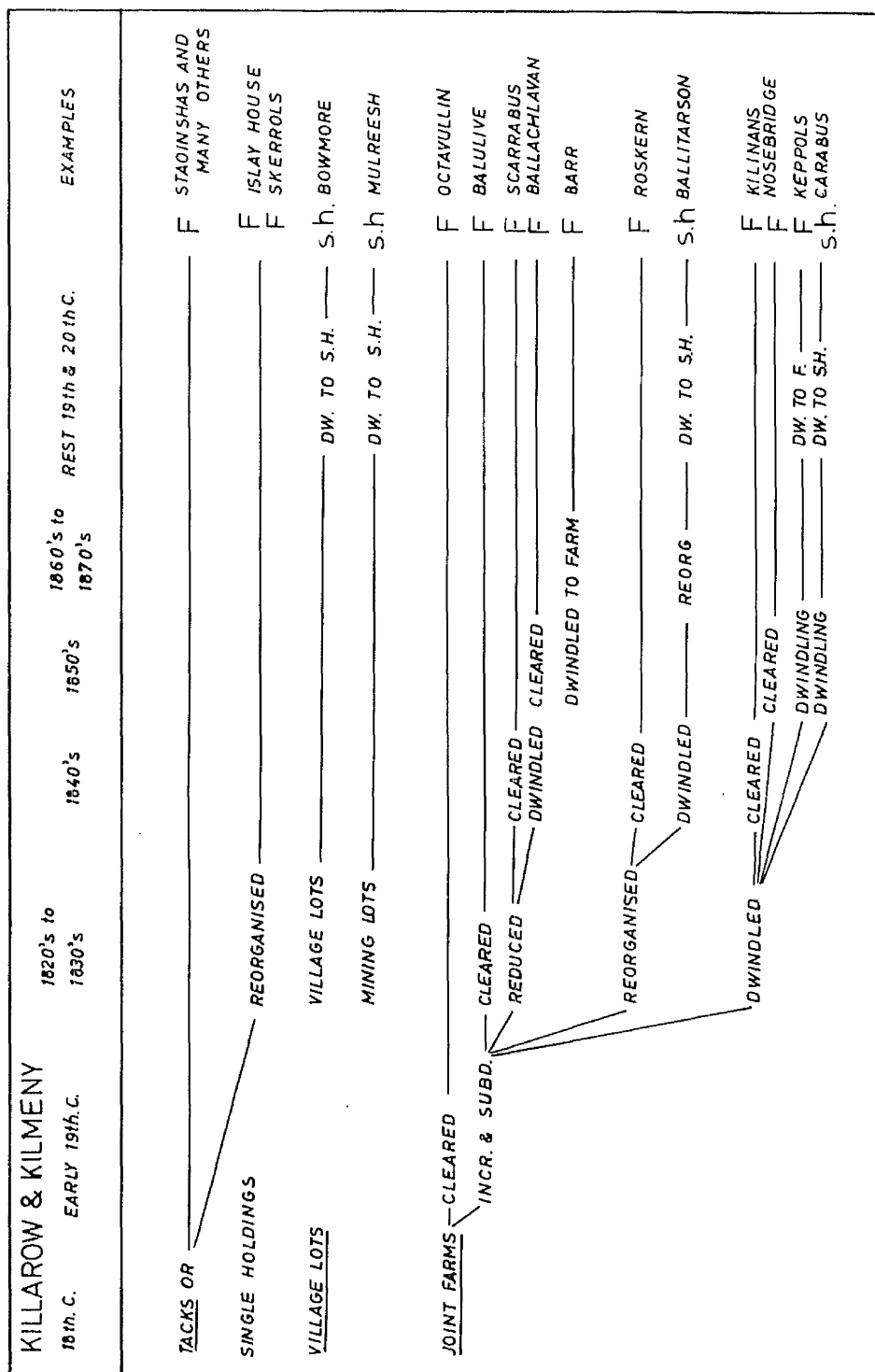


Figure 59. Phase diagram for Killarow and Kilmeny, Islay.

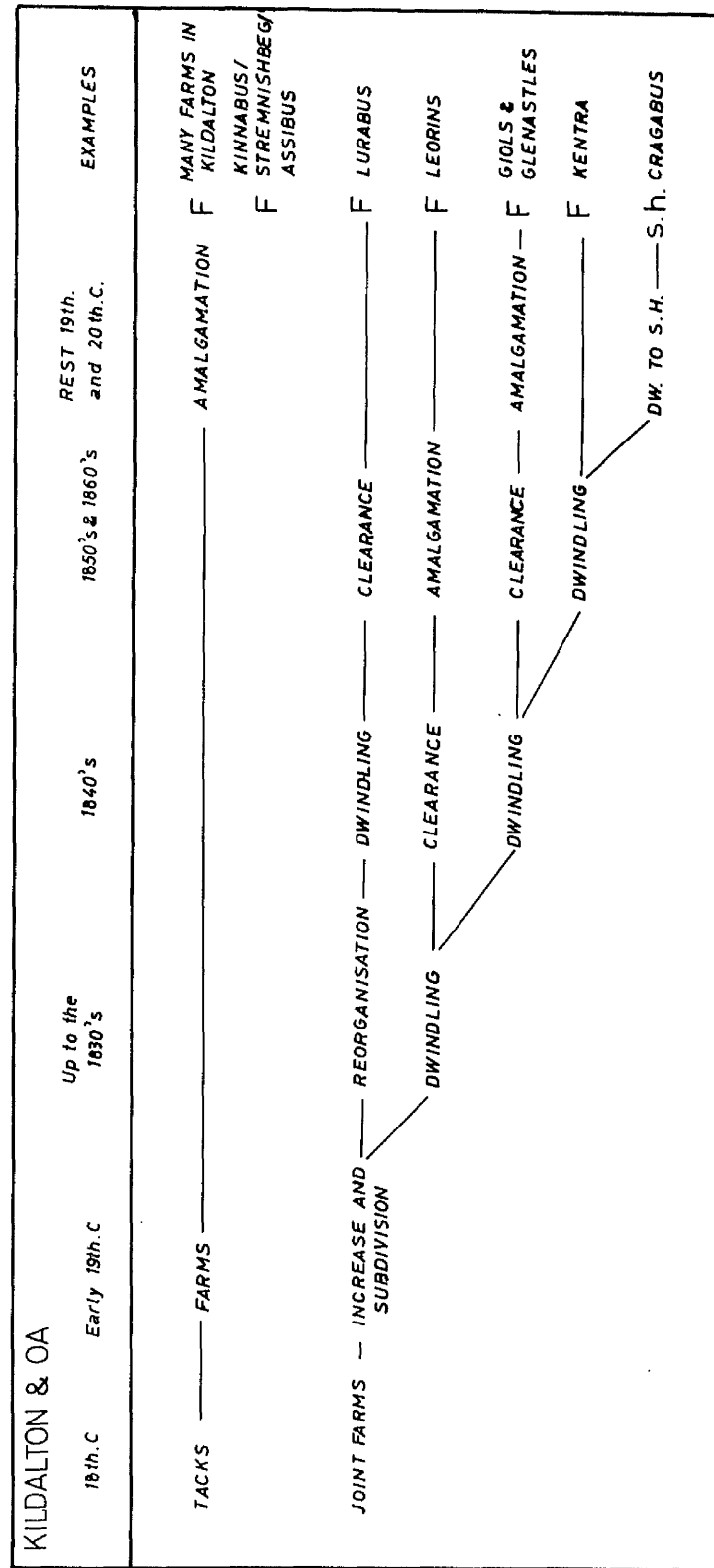
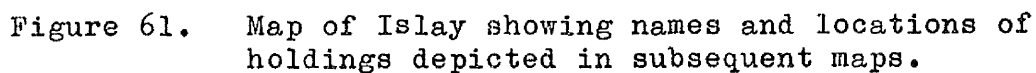


Figure 60. Phase diagram for Kildalton and Oa, Islay.

given in figure 59. Again the period between the 1820's and the late 1830's was the one in which the major changes occurred, mainly in the reorganisation of the midland valley holdings and especially in its western end. There were further reductions in numbers of tenants rather later and a quite different phase of reorganisation took place. Clearances occurred in the midland valley and the interior valleys of the hill masses at the hands of the Commissioners to the Trustees especially during the 1850's and 1860's. The twentieth century has seen an increasing degree of amalgamation of single farms in these areas around the north-eastern and south-eastern hill masses.

The phase diagram for the parish of Kildalton and Oa in figure 60 is really that of the Oa alone since the majority of the Kildalton holdings characteristically evolved directly from tack to farm. Apart from the village of Port Ellen, there were no village lotment schemes as in the other parishes. This may have been one reason for the Oa peninsula retaining multiple tenancies until the 1840's, with only sporadic reorganisation and reduction. But thereafter, with population numbers relatively greater than on any of the other small holdings of the island, migration and emigration were encouraged by the new landlords, and the period between 1848 and the 1860's saw the gradual dwindling and clearance of tenants from most of the holdings in the Oa peninsula, except in the townships of Crazebus and Lower Killeyan. Emigration to the Lowlands and North America was financially encouraged by the landlord. Like Killarow and Kilmeny, the Oa in the twentieth century has been the scene of considerable amalgamation of holdings into much larger units.

(after MACDOUGALL, 1749)



# FARMS DIRECT FROM TACK

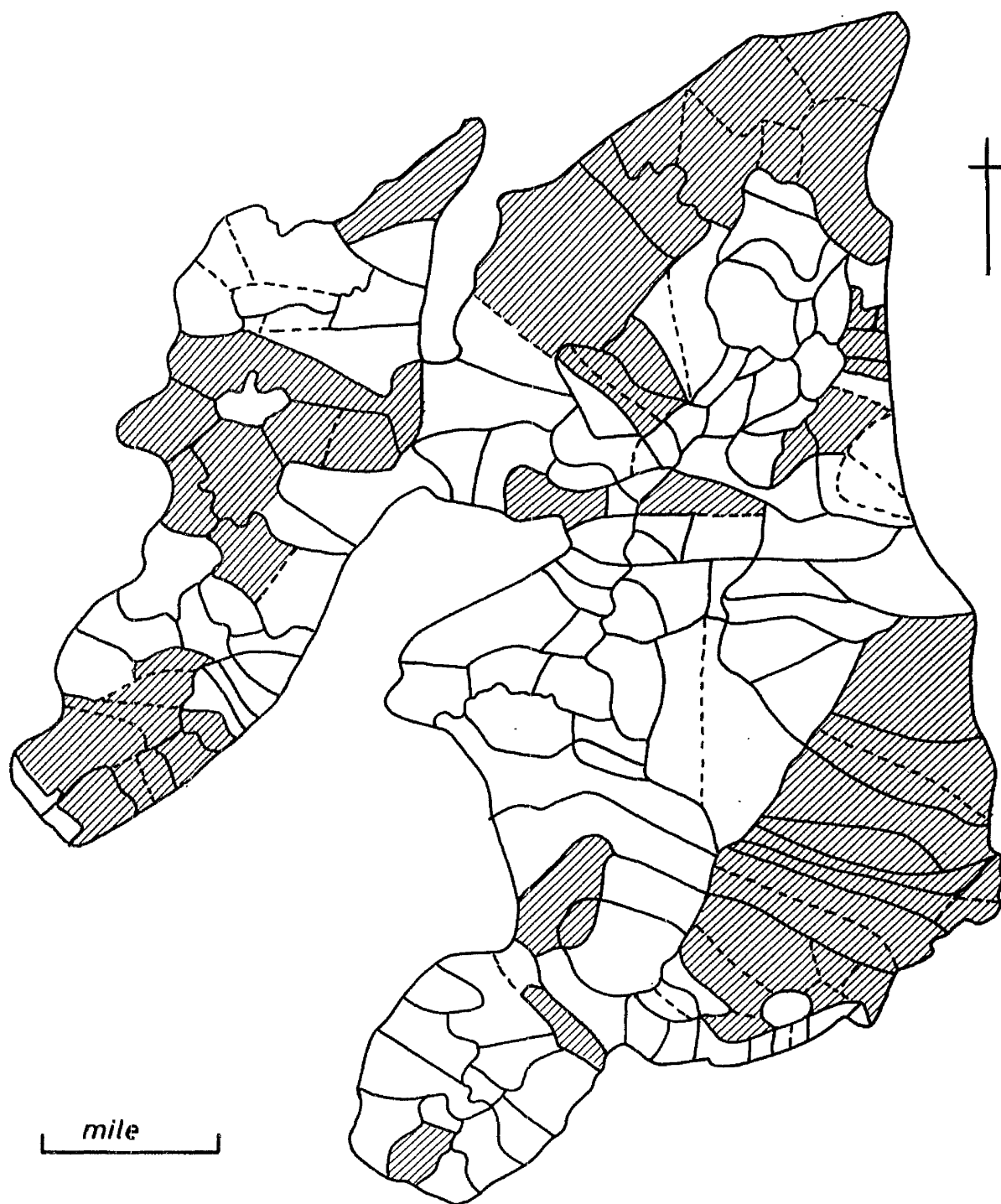


Figure 62. Distribution of tacks in Islay, which subsequently became single farms, without subdivision amongst multiple tenants.



# HOLDINGS CLEARED

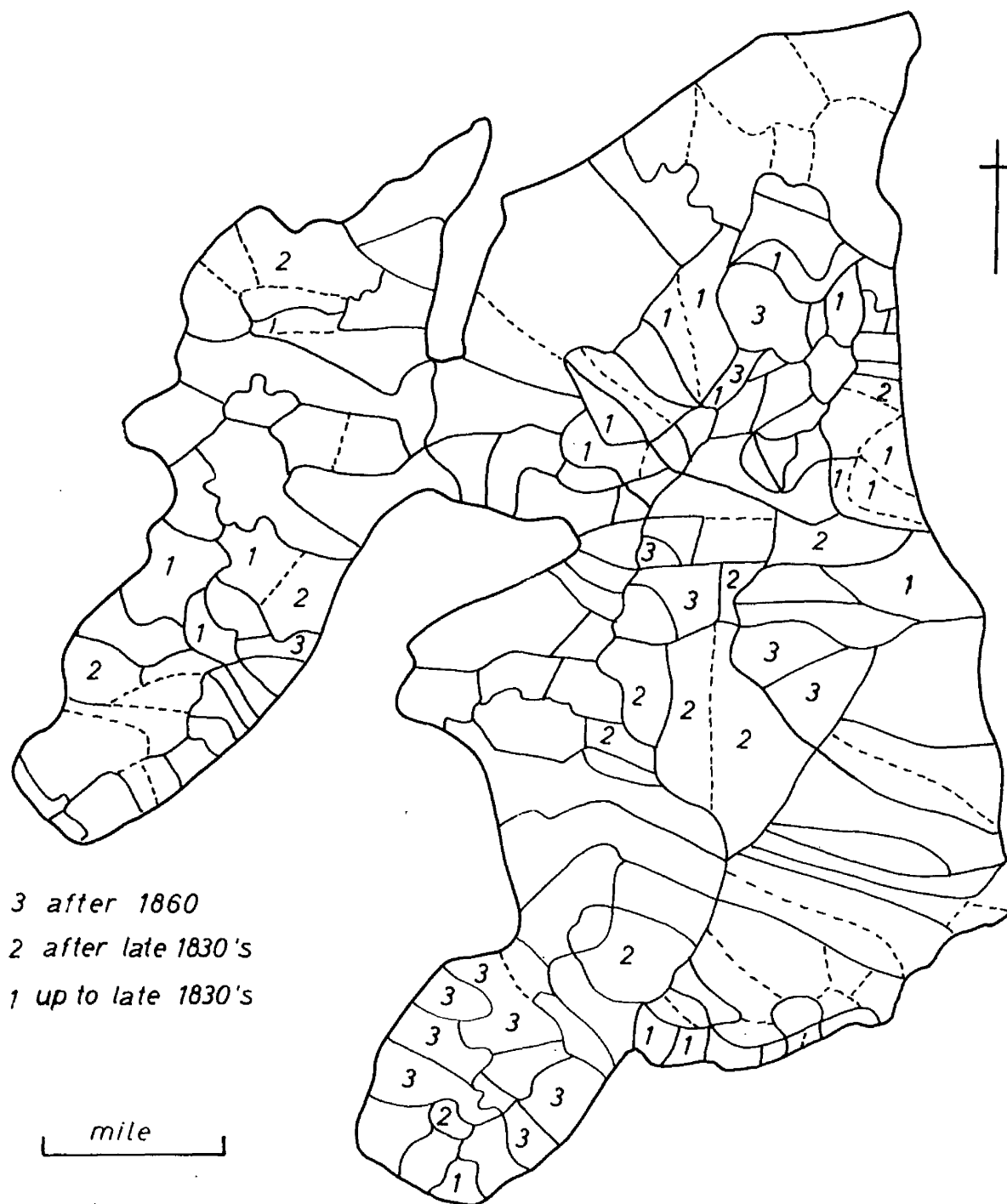


Figure 63. Joint farms in Islay which were cleared at various times during the nineteenth century, often after other processes of evolution had occurred.

# HOLDINGS REDUCED IN NUMBERS OF TENANTS

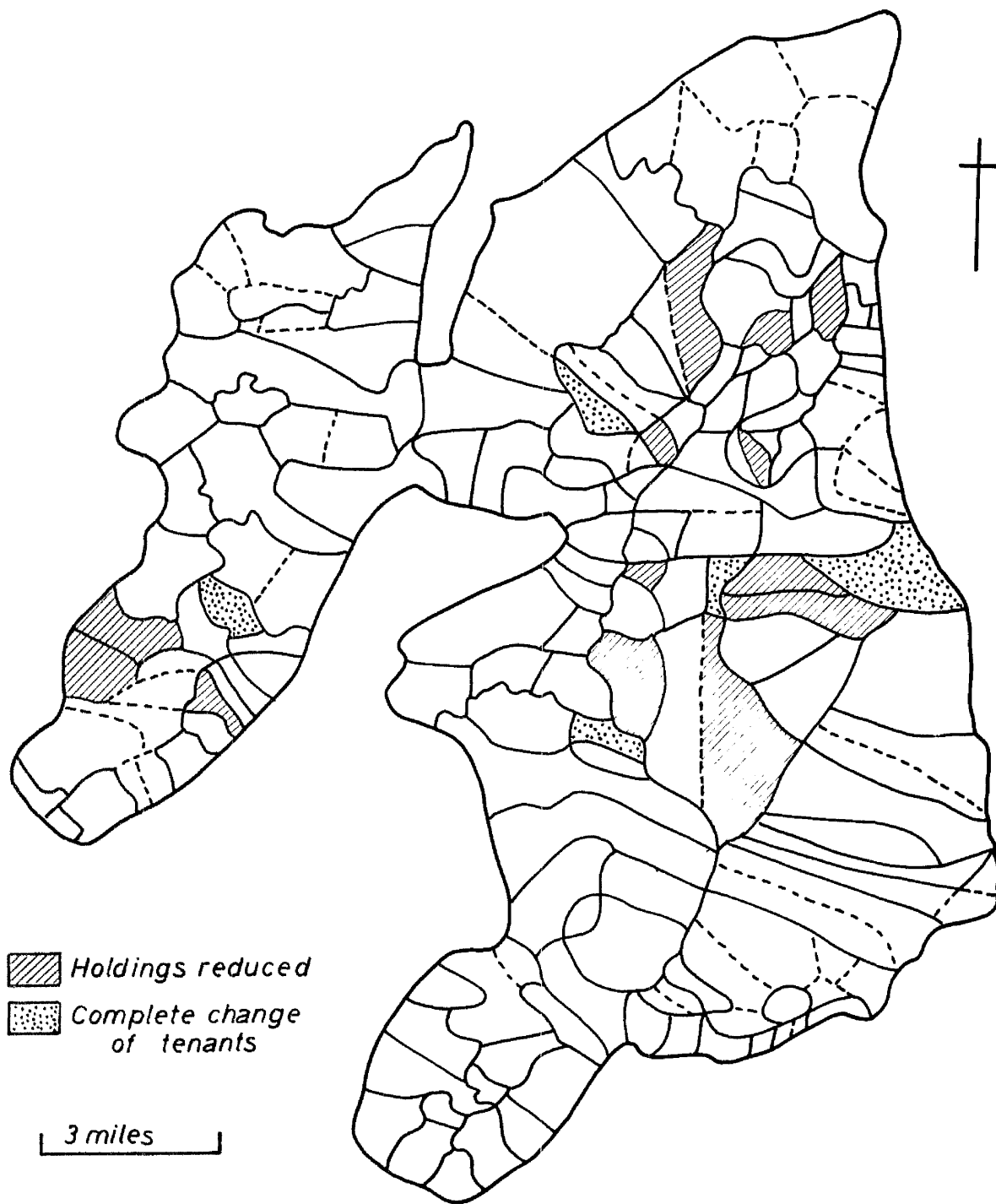


Figure 64a. Multiple holdings in Islay which underwent reduction in numbers or complete change in tenants between 1824 and 1833.

## HOLDINGS REORGANISED

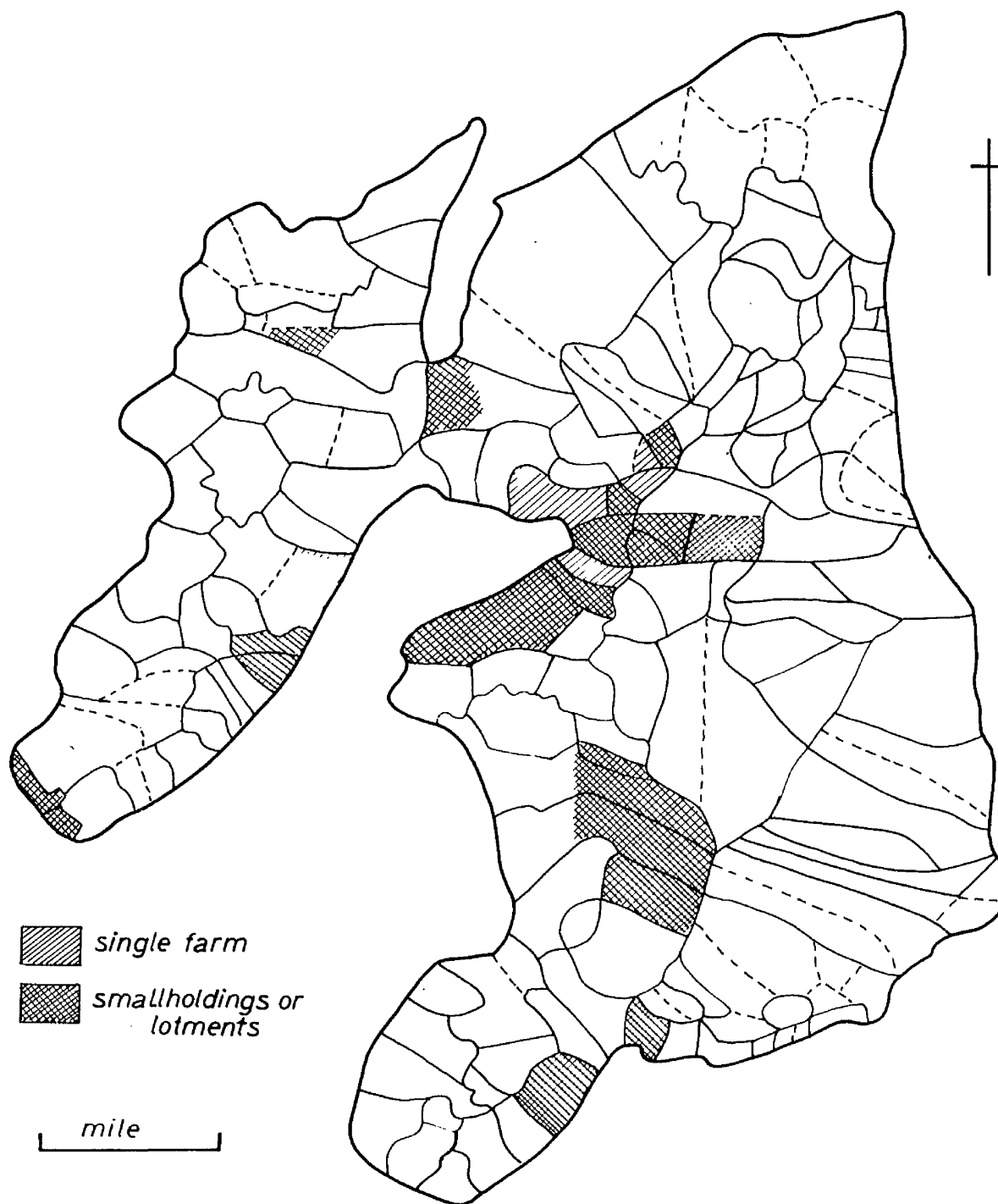


Figure 64 b. Single and multiple tenancies which were planned or reorganised during the period between the 1820's and 1830's.

# HOLDINGS DWINDLED IN NUMBERS OF TENANTS

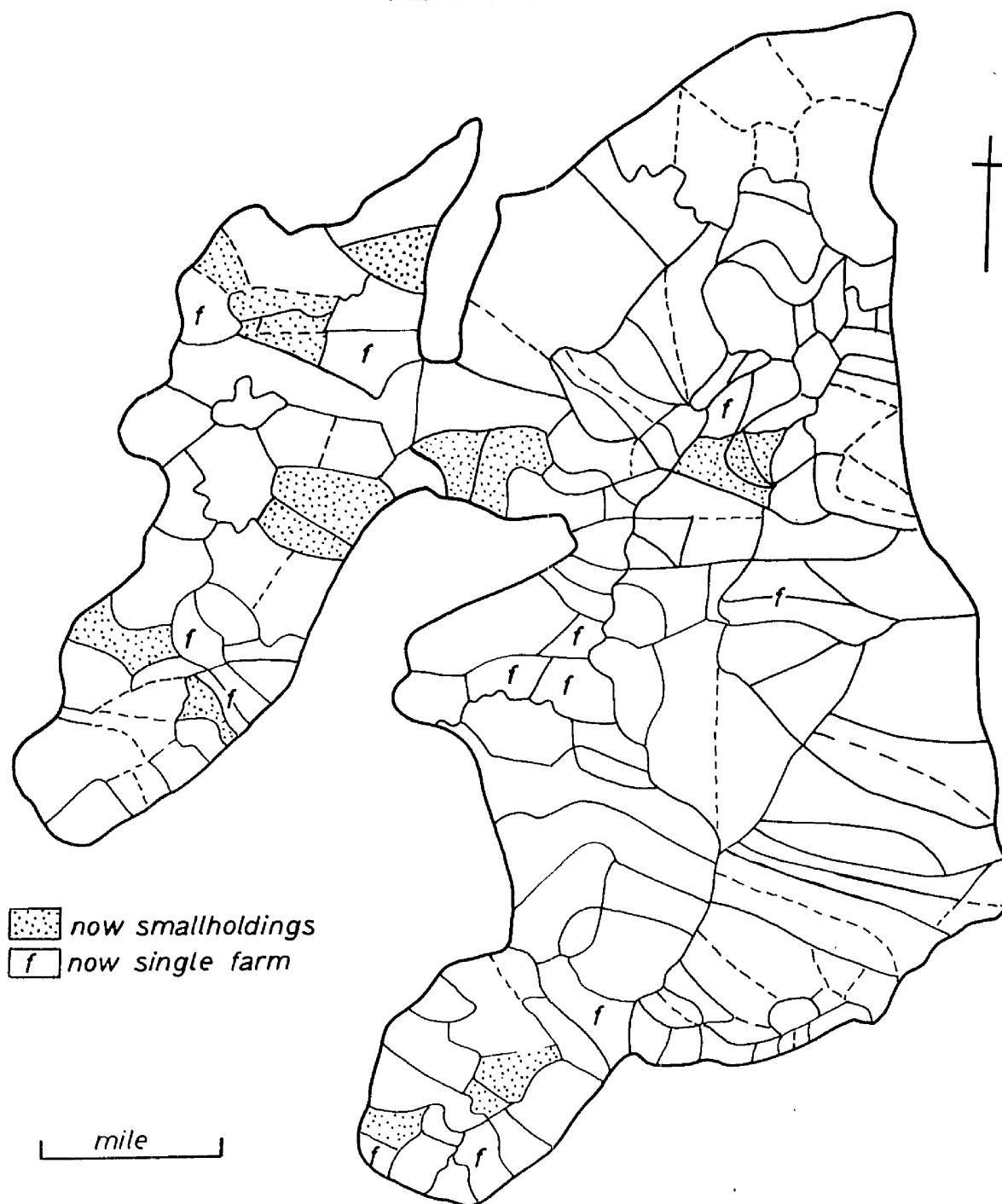


Figure 65. Multiple tenancies in Islay which gradually dwindled in numbers of tenants to form the present single farms and groups of small holdings.

# ISLAY 1960 LANDHOLDINGS EVOLUTION

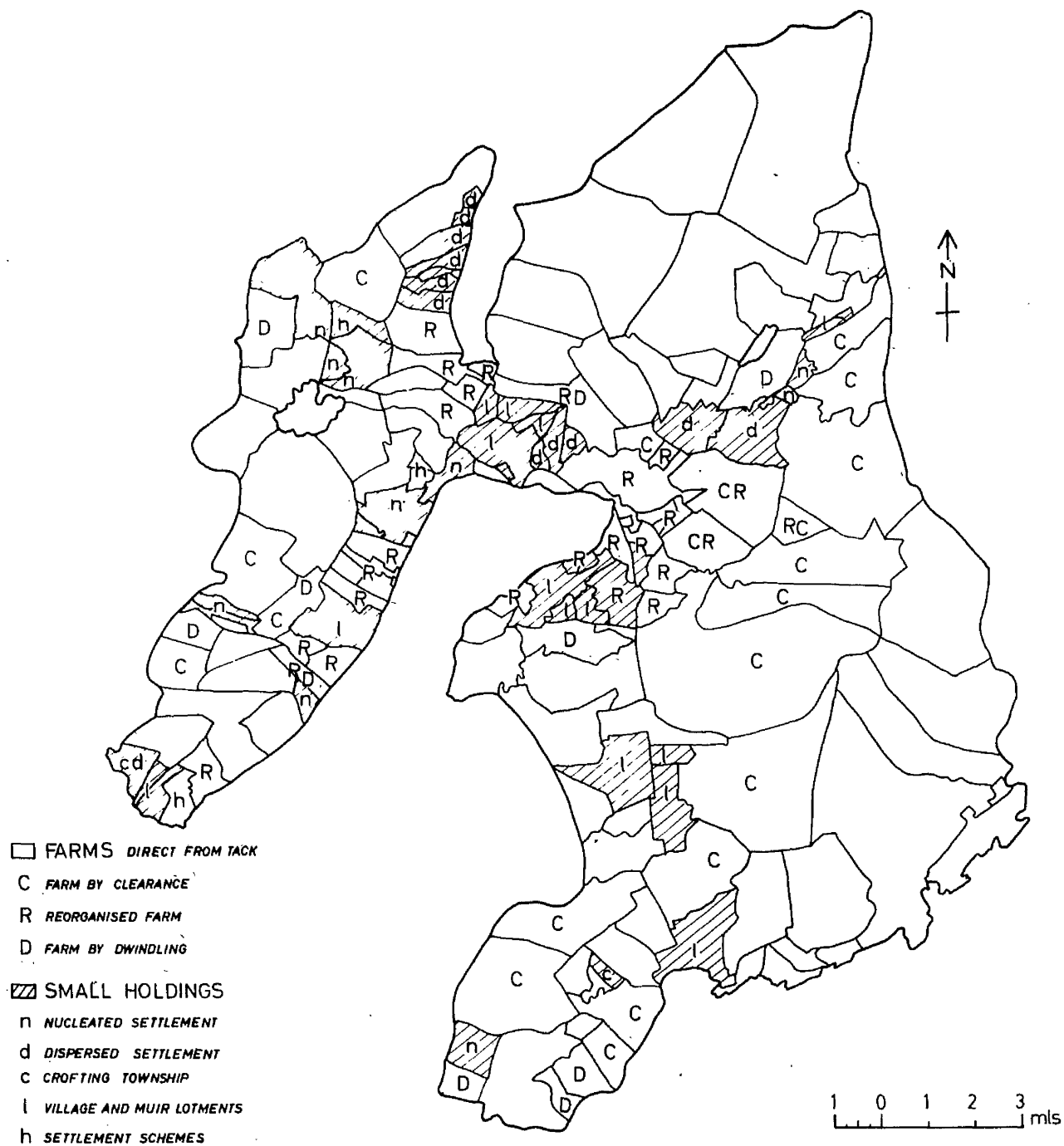


Figure 66. Types of evolution of present landholdings in Islay.

Regional differentiation of patterns of evolution of landholdings in Islay.

In Islay from the late eighteenth century onwards there existed side by side several elements in the pattern of landholdings evolving from one to another but with the emphasis more on gradual change than on sudden revolution. The main types form several categories of landholdings which are listed below. Their distribution is shown in figures 62 to 65.

Figure 61 gives the names of the holdings for reference when studying figures 62 to 65. The main types of evolution of the landholdings in Islay are:

1. (figure 62). Holdings which were formerly tacks or single tenancies, which became single farms without subdivision amongst small tenants until a few twentieth century resettlement schemes.
2. (figure 63). Holdings under joint tenants which were cleared.
3. (figure 64a). Holdings with definite evidence of reduction in numbers of tenants.  
(figure 64b). Holdings with definite evidence of reorganisation.
4. (figure 65). Holdings of joint farms which gradually dwindled in numbers to form small holdings or single farms.

The resultant effects of these various single and multiple processes of evolution on the present pattern of landholdings and land utilisation are summarised in two ways:

1. in figure 66 which illustrates the present-day pattern of landholdings with type of evolution in Islay
- and 2. in Appendix 5 in which details of the evolution, field patterns and settlement (occupied, unoccupied and ruined) are given for each holding in Islay to-day.

In Islay the hill tracts of the north-east and south-east and in the central Rhinns peninsula have always supported large grazing farms (fig.62), or were the site of early and middle nineteenth century clearances or reductions for these (fig.63). The areas in which the industrial villages were set up in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were

those in which clearance, reorganisation and reduction were more easily accomplished in the earlier formative years (figure 64); and also where dwindling occurred later in the century. These areas -- the southern Rhinns, the western end of the Midland valley and the areas around Port Ellen, are the ones which display greatest regularity in the pattern of landholdings and their fields at the present day. They also show the highest degree of dispersion of settlement. But where there was greater remoteness from the industrial villages, townships tended to survive longer, and the present aspect of the small holdings which has resulted from dwindling numbers provides a much less regular pattern (fig.65). Such are the areas of the northern parts of the Rhinns peninsula, the eastern end of the midland valley, and a few parts of the interior valleys of the south-eastern hill mass, as well as the peninsula of the Oa. To varying degree the townships in these areas were either eventually cleared to make way for single farms or have survived as groups of small holdings with clustered or dispersed settlement.

But throughout the island, these changes have been relatively gradual and never areally complete (fig.66). The major phases of change occurred in the late eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but the various elements of large, medium and small-sized farms, joint farms, reorganised small holdings, lotted townships and industrial villages, always continued to exist side by side until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The resulting varied aspect of landholdings in the island partly accounts for and answers many of the questions it poses regarding its evolution. The gradual evolution of this pattern in Islay has meant that several of the eighteenth century features of landholdings and settlement have not been obliterated completely as so frequently happened both in the earlier, more complete





reorganisation of the Lowlands, and also later in the more remote parts of the Highlands and Islands, where the late and incomplete arrival of the Agricultural Revolution necessitated the establishment of the very much more rigid pattern of sheep walks and crofting townships.

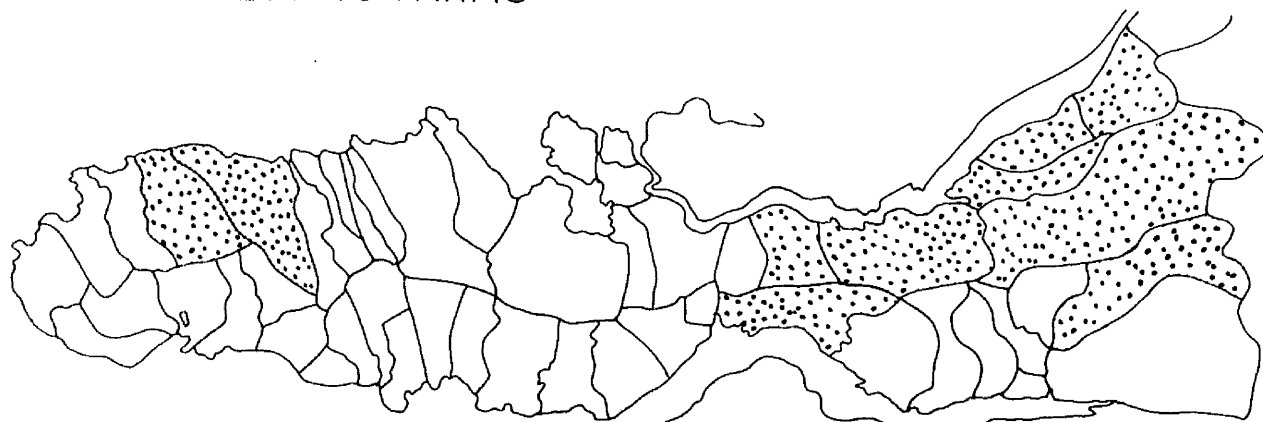
#### ARDNAMURCHAN-SUNART.

The evolutionary phase diagram for the peninsula, corresponding to those of the parishes of Islay, is given in figure 67. Compared to the phase diagrams for the island, that for Ardnamurchan-Sunart shows fewer processes, but these are more revolutionary ones. They operated successively through the first half of the nineteenth century. Clearance and lotting were the main processes in Ardnamurchan, and clearance of certain townships there towards the middle of the century caused renewed increase and subdivision of holdings in adjacent townships such as Kilmory. But the second half of the century has seen the prevalence of dwindling and amalgamation. These have continued through the twentieth century but in addition there has been the establishment of a few resettlement schemes in the form of crofting townships and groups of small holdings.

#### Regional differentiation of patterns of landholdings in Ardnamurchan-Sunart.

Figures 68 and 69 show the distribution and regional differentiation of the evolutionary types of landholdings for the peninsula comparable to the earlier ones discussed for Islay in figures 62 to 65. Sunart especially has always been an area of large tacks and grazing farms (figure 68a), whilst Ardnamurchan has been more characteristic of the west Highland mainland in having large areas of joint farms cleared to form single sheep walks or sporting estates (figure 68b), with interspersed lotted crofting townships (figure 68c). The single process of dwindling has accounted for very few single small

## TACKS DIRECT TO FARMS



## HOLDINGS CLEARED

2 cleared mid-19th C. and after  
1 cleared first half 19th C.



## LOTING OF CROFTING TOWNSHIPS

3 20th C.  
2 mid-19th C.  
1 early 19th C.



Figure 68. Types of evolution in Ardnamurchan-Sunart from the ubiquitous tacks and joint farms of the eighteenth cent.

68a. Tacks direct to single farms without subdivision amongst small tenants.

68b. Joint farms subsequently cleared in the nineteenth cent.

68c. Lotting of crofting townships at different periods in the nineteenth century.

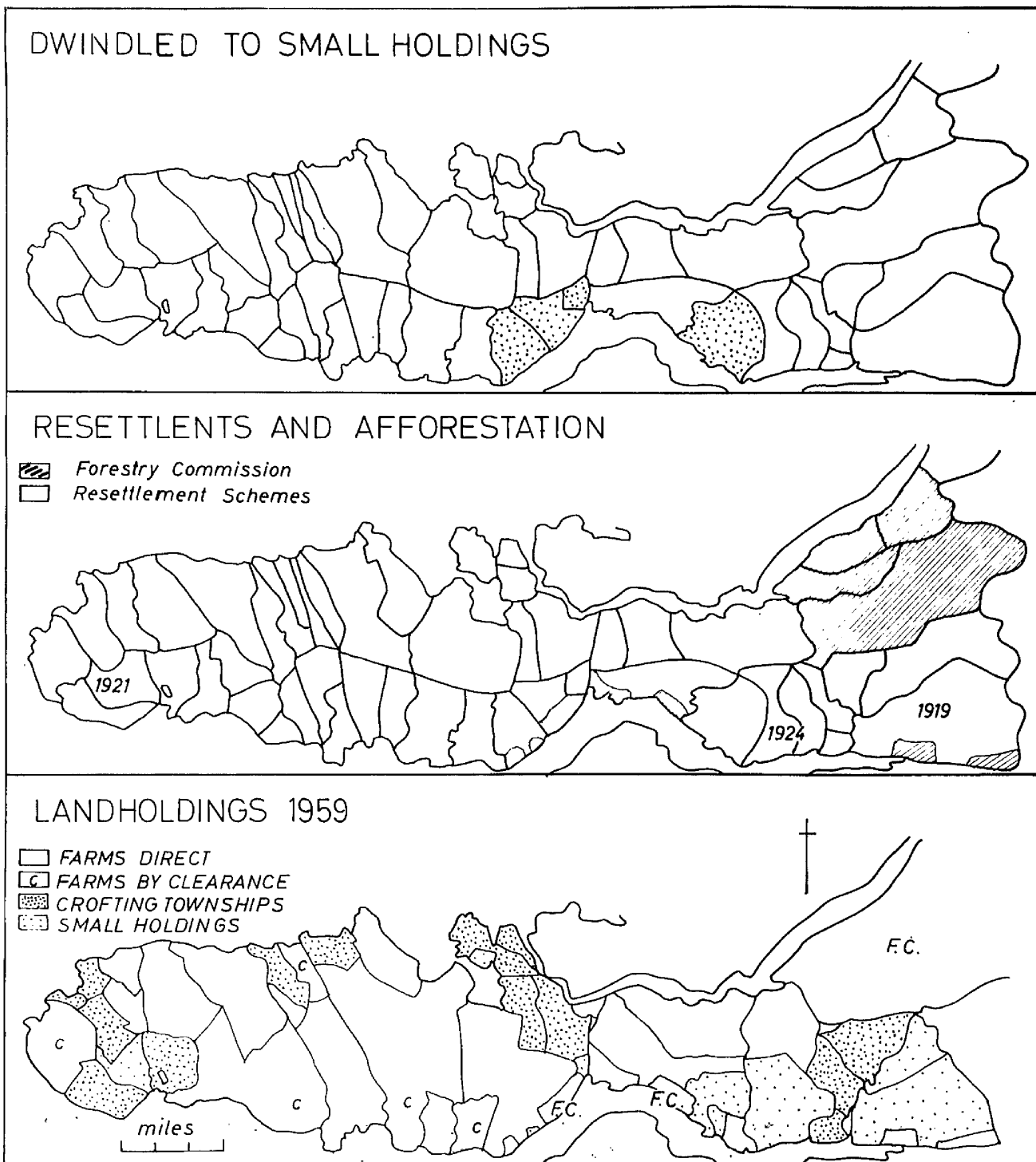


Figure 69a. Multiple holdings which dwindled to small holdings.  
 69b. Resettlements and afforestation of the twentieth century.  
 69c. Summary of types of landholdings evolution in Ardnamurchan-Sunart.

holdings in either Ardnamurchan or Sunart in direct contrast to Islay (fig. 69a). This emphasises the revolutionary as opposed to the evolutionary character of the pattern of landholdings in the peninsula as compared with the island. The twentieth century has seen the further development of plantation and afforestation by the Forestry Commission, as well as the establishment of resettlement schemes..

Figure 69c illustrates the present types of landholding in the peninsula with their predominant type of evolution. There are plentiful traces of the older order of settlements visible in the peninsula, especially in Ardnamurchan. There are also many areas characterised by the old method of rig cultivation. But the effect of the revolutionary type of evolution of the landholdings has been to obliterate the older order more successfully than in Islay. The present field patterns, especially in the townships, bear little relation to the earlier ones.

Chapter 10. PRESENT-DAY LANDHOLDINGS AND PATTERNS OF LAND UTILISATION  
IN ISLAY AND IN ARDNAMURCHAN-SUNART.

Present-day patterns of landholdings and land utilisation in Islay.

In Islay many of the evolutionary processes discussed in previous chapters are still taking place today, especially those of dwindling and assimilation, and of the parallel process of amalgamation. For the three main elements of landholdings in Islay today, single farms, small holdings and lotted holdings, and village lotments, the projection of these processes forward is:

1. the single farms are now tending to amalgamate to form larger units.
2. the small holdings and lotted holdings are tending towards single farm units by continuing dwindling in numbers of tenants and/or by subletting.
3. villages are increasingly extending to attract people from rural areas and the small lots are consolidating into small dairy holdings.

The tendency then is a continuing drift from the land into the villages with a corresponding decrease in the number of agricultural tenants or occupiers and an increase in the size of the effective holding or unit. Despite the mechanical revolution, but in common with all areas of farming in Britain which are marginal from the economic point of view, whether due to factors of size, isolation or environment, there has been a continuing decline in the quantity of land used at maximum or optimum for over a century. Between 1828 and 1848 there was an extension of improved land in Islay according to details of acreages in private state material for these two years. This corresponds with the maximum land-pressure and land reclamation, but differs from both Trotternish and Kintyre where according to MacSween<sup>1</sup> and Gailey<sup>2</sup> the late eighteenth century was the period of maximum cultivation. Since the maximum

- 
1. MacSween, M.D. Settlement in Trotternish, Isle of Skye, 1700-1958. B Litt Thesis.
  2. Gailey, R.A. Settlement Changes in the South-West Highlands of Scotland, 1700-1960. PhD Thesis.

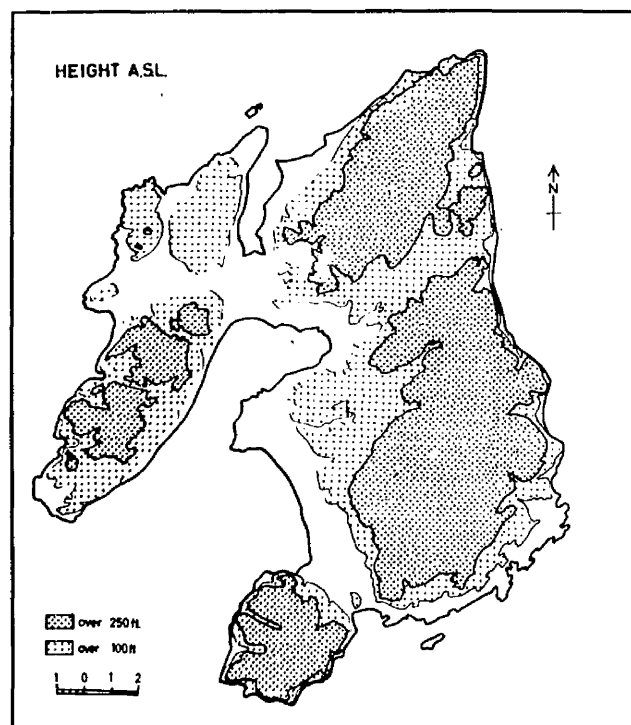
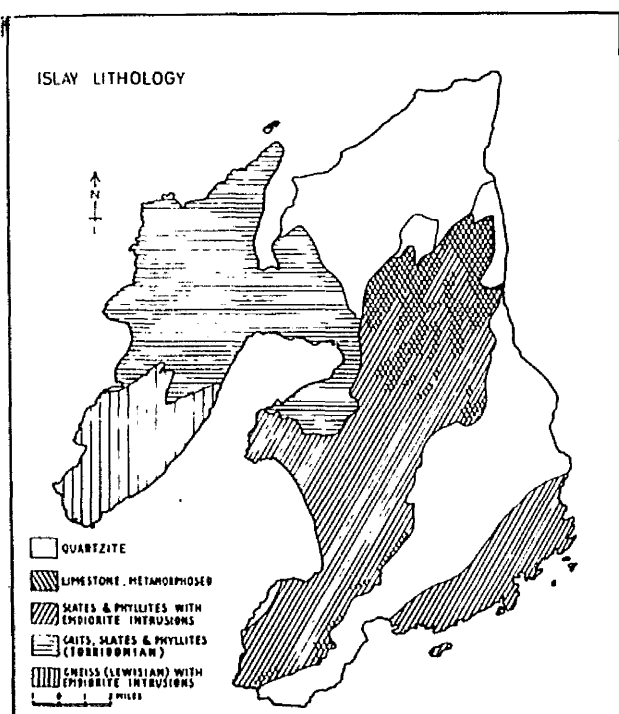
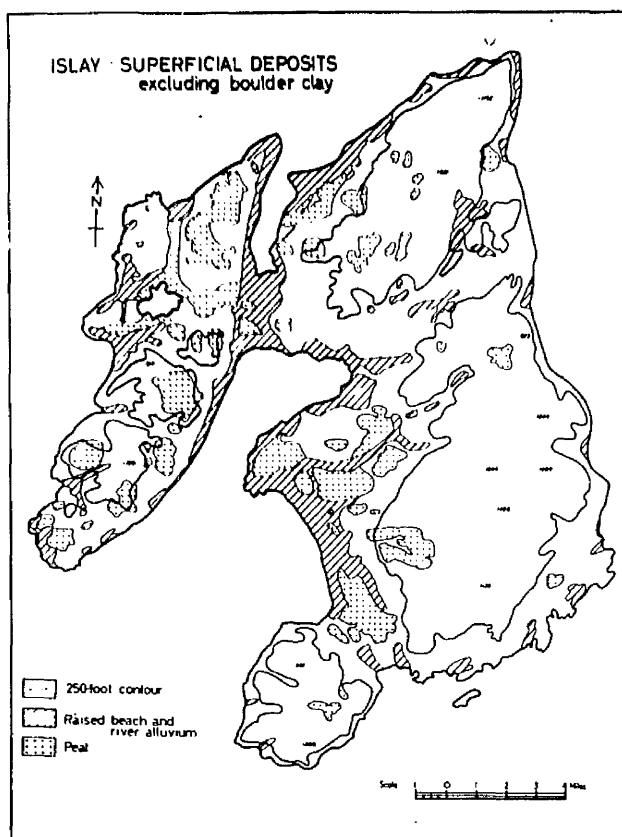
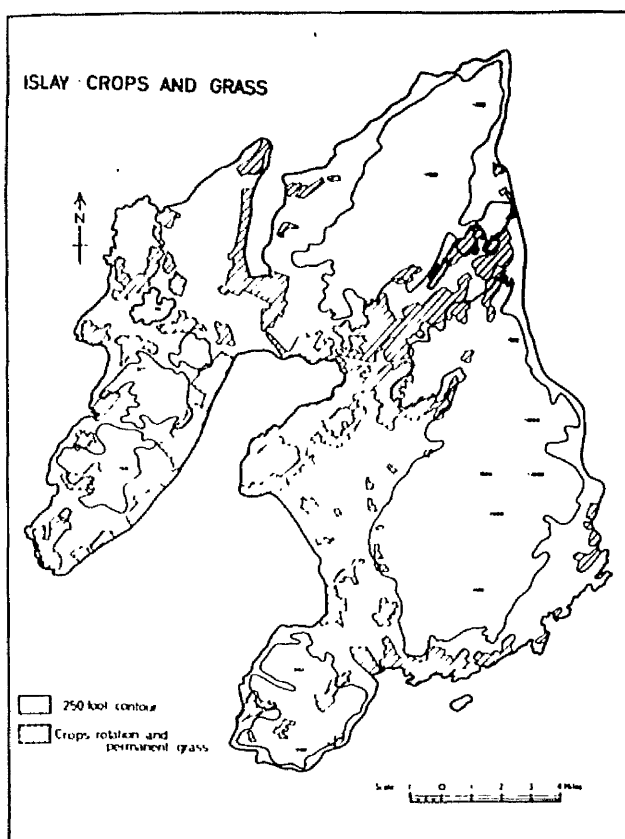


Figure 70a. Top, L. Area of Crops and Grass in Islay, 1956.  
 70b. Top, R. Superficial deposits in Islay.  
 70c. Bot. L. Outline of lithology in Islay.  
 70d. Bot. R. Relief of Islay.

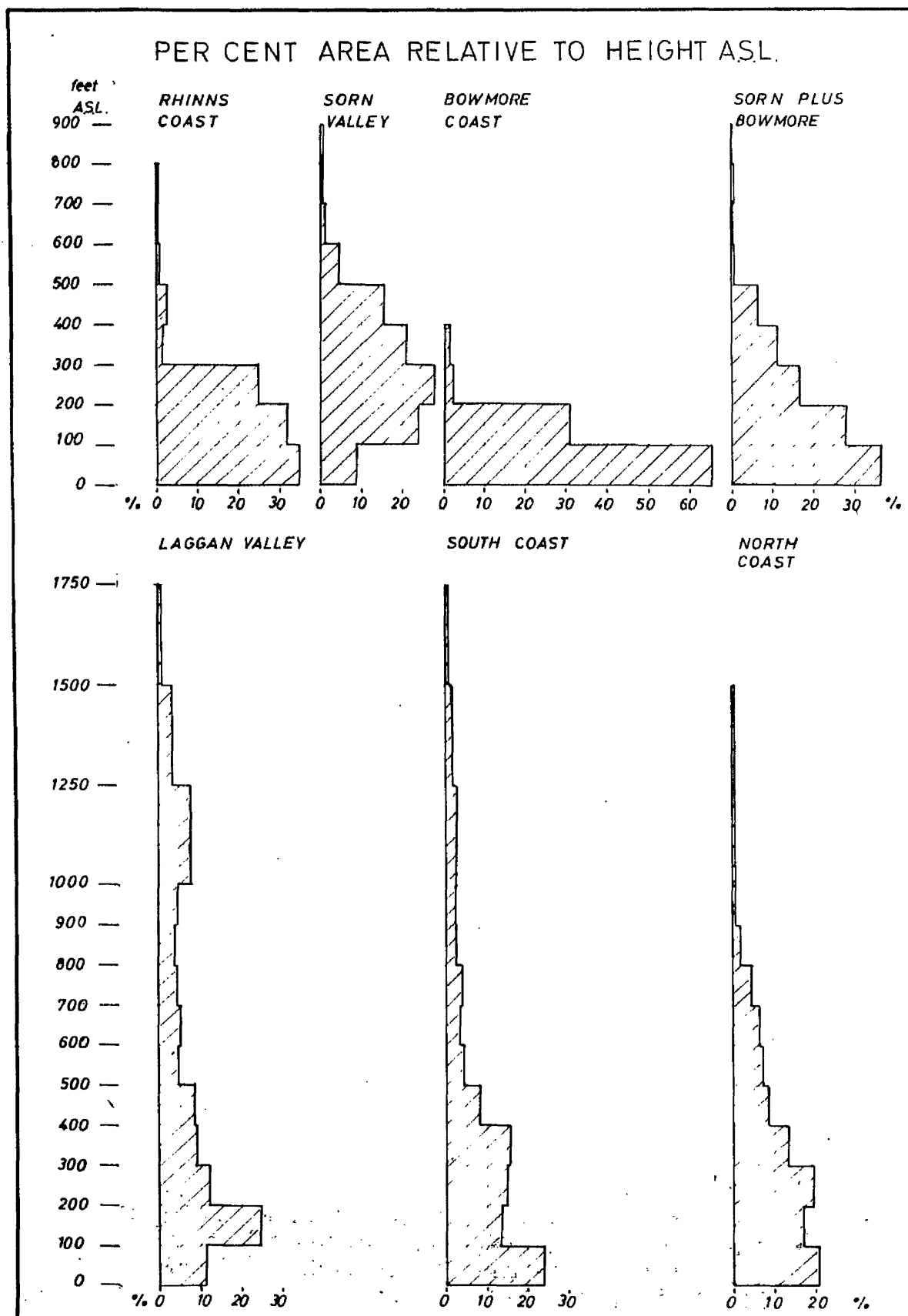


Figure 71. Percentage area between different heights A.S.L.  
(from Hypsometric Survey of Scotland,  
Geography Department of Glasgow University).

in Islay however in the 1830's there has been continuous decline in area and degree of land used agriculturally. By the start of the twentieth century the quantity had declined further, and as the century progressed, changed in proportion of one type of use to another, as is illustrated in table 10.

	<u>Crops</u>	<u>Crops and Grass</u>	<u>Rough Pasture</u>
1913	4.0%	18.6%	77.4%
1958	3.3%	12.8%	83.9%

Table 10. Percentage proportions of Crops, Crops and Grass and Rough Pasture in Islay in 1913 and in 1958.

Figure 70a illustrates the distribution of crops and grass in Islay today. When this is compared with the area of superficial deposits (figure 70b) and with the lithology (figure 70c) the main distribution of cultivated and improved land is seen to be essentially peripheral on the raised beaches, at the lower ends of river valleys, and in a few interior basins. This is further emphasised in figure 71 which shows the percentage areas relative to height above sea level, for selected drainage basins of the island. The greater extension of crops and grass beyond the limits of superficial deposits in the midland valley can be attributed directly to the underlying rock, Dalradian limestone, rare in many parts of the region as a whole. The rough poor nature of the quartzitic north-eastern and south-eastern hill masses, the Lewisian plateau of the southern Rhinns peninsula, and the upland plateau of the Oa are readily noticeable.

Closely corresponding to these distributions, but also affected by degree of accessibility to roads and piers, as well as to size and organisation of the holdings, is the pattern of farm types in Islay (see figure 72). The hill masses and interior plateaux essentially comprise large grazing farms with varying proportions of rearing cattle to sheep, according to availability



# FARM TYPES

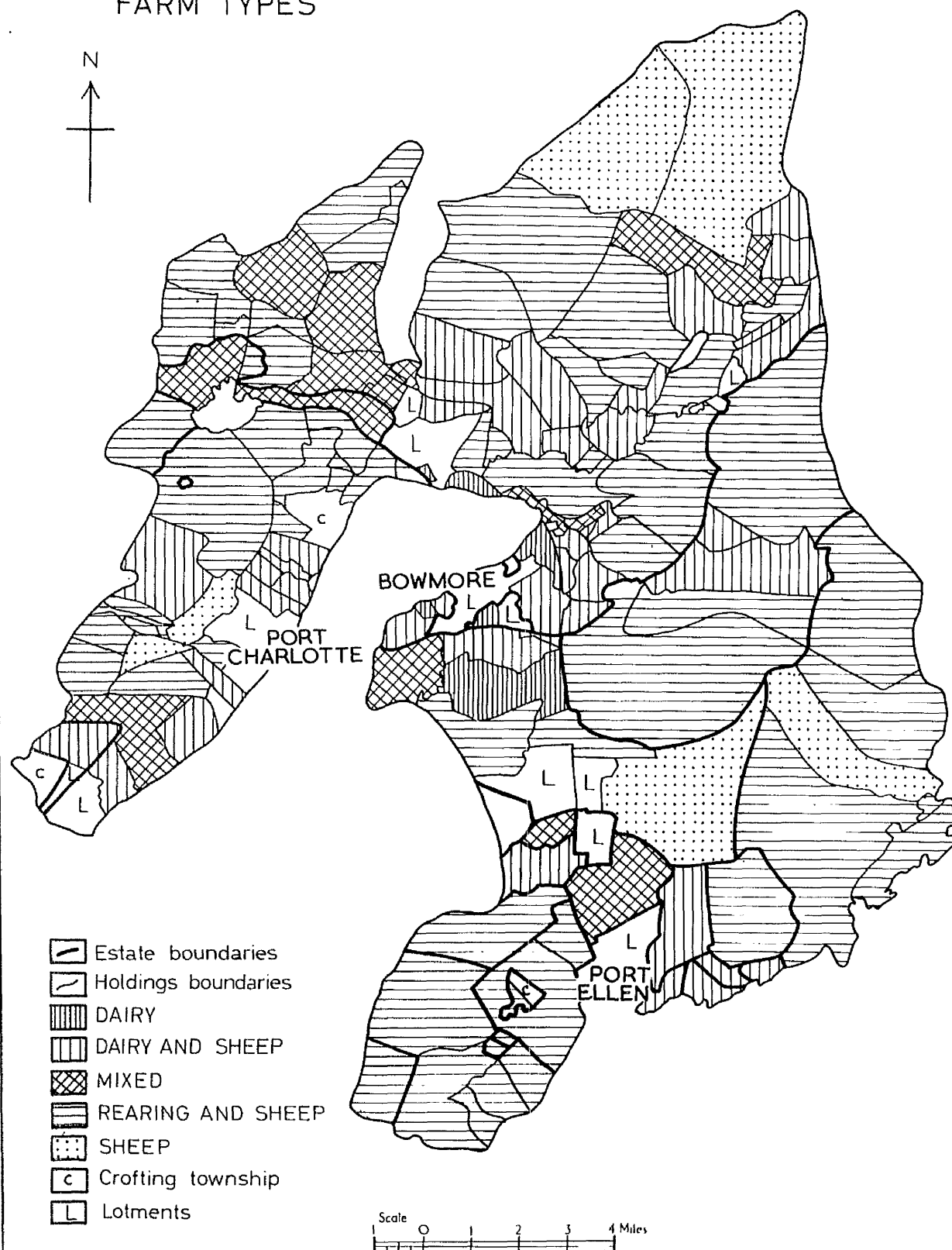


Figure 72. Types of farming enterprise in Islay, 1958.

or otherwise of winter fodder. On the other hand the raised beaches and alluvial valleys more accessible to road transport have mainly dairy and dairy-sheep farms. This variety of farming types is exceptional along the West Highland seaboard. Throughout the entire west Highland region the emphasis is on pastoral farming with arable land being used to provide winter fodder for stock. In only a few exceptional areas is the arable land utilised for the production of crops for sale either for human consumption or for animal fodder. The accessibility to local and national markets, and the size and method of tenure of the holding, as well as the quality and state of repair of the buildings and available labour supply, all affect the type of pastoral farming carried on, once the physical limits of quality of land and capability of size, distribution and environment for mechanisation have eliminated some of the types.

In Islay a 60% sample of holdings over 50 acres in extent (the statutory size limit of a croft in the Crofting Counties<sup>1</sup>) was conducted. A sample was taken by selecting farms at the intersection of grid squares on 1:25,000 maps. This ensured an adequate spatial distribution of 110 farms over 50 acres out of a total of 153<sup>2</sup>. Each of the 110 farms selected in the sample was visited with a questionnaire involving size, site, accessibility, buildings, equipment, ownership and tenancy, stock, crops, labour supply and machinery. Of the farms visited, data were completed accurately for 89 farms. This gives a 60 per cent. sample of all farms over 50 acres. Analysis of the

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1. Argyllshire, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland.

2. Birch, J.W. Observations on the Delimitations of Farming Type Regions with special reference to the Isle of Man. Trans. Inst. Brit. Geogr 1954 vol. 20. p.145

data provides a division of Islay farms into four broad groups, two of which are further subdivided according to emphasis of the dominant enterprise. These are shown in table 11. Comparison with other regions of Scotland is included.

TYPE OF FULL-TIME FARM	ISLAY 1958	HIGHLANDS 1951*	SOUTH-WEST 1951*
A. HILL SHEEP	4.7%	22%	7%
B. STOCK-REARING sheep more important than stock	12.7	} 45	} 11*
stock m.l. than sheep	35.0		
stock and feed	4.6		
C. MIXED STOCK-REARING AND DAIRY STOCK-REARING with substantial DAIRY	8.1	-	*
DAIRY with substantial rearing cattle and sheep stock	4.5	-	-
D. DAIRY DAIRY	8.2	15	61
DAIRY AND SHEEP only	22.2	3	2
E. OTHERS (Market gardening horticulture etc.)	0.0	8	12
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 11. Types of holdings over 50 acres. Islay data from 60% sample.

\* Data for Highland region and South-West regions as defined in Types of Farming in Scotland, 1952.

Highlands - Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland  
Shetland, South-West - all counties south-west of Stirlingshire.

Islay appears to correspond to the Highland region with reference to stockrearing of cattle and sheep, but more closely to the Lowlands in proportion of hill sheep farms and dairying activities. Like the rest of the Highlands and Islands generally, cash cropping and market gardening have been of little importance until recently, with the exception of small pilot bulb-growing and gardening enterprises.

TYPE OF HOLDING	AVERAGE SIZE (ACRES)			AVERAGE RENT PER ACRES (shgs)		
	ISLAY	HIGHLANDS	SOUTH-WEST	ISLAY	HIGHLANDS	SOUTH-WEST
A.	4,500	3,974	1,976	8d	5d	2/3
B.	1,726	548	242	2/9d	1/8d	10/6
C.		454	319	8/6d	7/8d	13/0
D.	822 to 1,462	1,797	1,167	2/6d to 3/6d	1/3d	4/9
D.	327 to 756	305	187	5/6d	1/3d to 6/11d	18/10

Table 12. Average size and average rent of different types of holding in Islay compared to other regions of Scotland.

(Based on App. A., Table 40 et seq. Farming Types of Scotland, 1952).

Two other factors which contribute to the economic success of agricultural concerns, size and rent per holding, are studied in table 12 for the island in relation to the two other regions in Scotland to which it has most affinities, the Highlands as a whole, and the South-West. In the island the size of the agricultural enterprise and its quality is in almost every case superior to similar categories in the Highlands. Compared with the

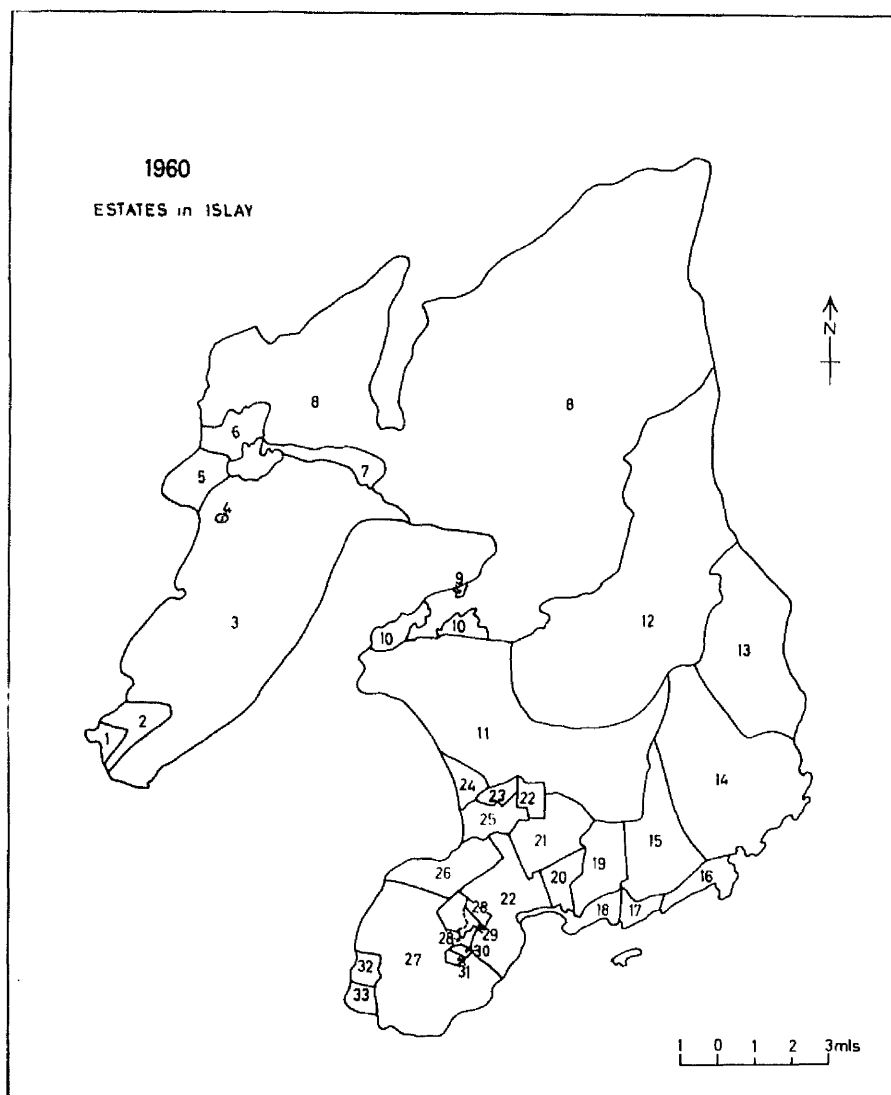


Figure 73. Estate boundaries, Islay, 1958.

- |                        |                         |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Claddich            | 17. Lagavullin          |
| 2. Cladville           | 18. Laphroaig           |
| 3. Chas. Morrison      | 19. Kilbride            |
| 4. Kilchoman           | 20. White Hart Parks    |
| 5. Coull               | 21. Leorin              |
| 6. Ballinaby           | 22. Ramsden             |
| 7. D.O.A.S.            | 23. Glenmachrie         |
| 8. Islay Estates Ltd.  | 24. Glenegidale airport |
| 9. Bunanuisg           | 25. Machrie             |
| 10. Maj. J.G. Morrison | 26. Kintra              |
| 11. Laggan             | 27. Kinnabus            |
| 12. Dunlossit          | 28. Mid Cragabus        |
| 13. Ardtalla           | 29. Coillabus           |
| 14. Kildalton          | 30. Coillabus           |
| 15. Callumkill         | 31. L. Killeen          |
| 16. Ardbeg             | 32. U. Killeen          |

more Lowland South-West on the other hand, rent per acre is much less and holdings are larger to compensate for the poorer quality of the land.

Size of holding	Number
50-100 acres	2
101-200	6
201-400	18
401-800	20
801-1600	18
1601-3200	17
over 3200	8

Table 13. Distribution of sizes of farms over 50 acres in Islay 1958.

Of the 60 per cent. sample of farms over 50 acres in Islay as shown in table 13, it is seen that there is a fair range of sizes of holdings over 200 acres in extent which forms an agricultural framework in which individual advancement and farmer mobility from one holding of smaller size and opportunity to a larger one is feasible. This is similar to the situation in neighbouring Kintyre, of which Symons says<sup>1</sup> "Kintyre is exceptional in the Highlands in the absence of crofting, the balance of tenanted and owner-occupied farms, the combination of types of farming and the moderate (not excessive in either direction) size of farms." A similar balance between tenanted and owner-occupied farms exists today in Islay. Figure 73 shows the boundaries of the different estates on the island in 1960. Individual holdings boundaries are depicted on the map of farm types in figure 72. Whilst individual estates have become smaller and vastly more numerous since the time of the Shawfield Campbells, individual holdings have increased in size. A more detailed discussion of the varied agricultural pattern in Islay today follows.

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1. Symons L. "Kintyre A Highland Exception".  
Paper read to Section B of the British Association meeting at  
Glasgow, September, 1958.

## Types of Farms in Islay

### A. HILL SHEEP FARMS

These are the largest farms in the island and consist mainly of rough grazing over the two major hill masses of the eastern part of the island. Large size (from 3,000 to 7,000 acres) and low rent (under a half-penny per acre) together with inaccessibility from main roads and poor provision of amenities such as water and electricity supplies mean that underutilisation of the land is common. Shepherds are difficult to find and keep, and these farms have become so large by amalgamation of several smaller units that they are unable to continue their separate existence in the twentieth century due to labour shortage.<sup>1</sup> Most of these farms have some lower ground which could be utilised at least for hay production but which has been little used except for grazing for the best part of this century. Again labour shortage intervenes, and the quality of both pasture and rough grazing deteriorates with continual stocking only by sheep, with no cattle. The main breed of sheep kept on these hilly farms is the Blackface; some flocks are pure whilst others are crossed with Border Leicester or in some instances, Cheviot. Flocks generally consist of from 500 to 900 ewes, or about 1,400 to 1,800 sheep in all. Employment normally consists of full-time work for two people.

### B. STOCKREARING (Hill cattle and sheep)

These farms generally occupy the same kind of area as those in group A but in every case there is a slightly higher proportion of cultivable or improved land than is found in the hill sheep farms. As the amount of improved land increases around the margins of the hill masses the rearing of

---

1. For example, the farm known as Stalosha in the North-east hill mass consists of the former townships and tacks of Balsa, Dudilmore, Dudilbeg, Cove, Mergadale, Upper and Lower Stalosha

cattle becomes a more and more important part of the farm's activities.

Sheep more important than cattle

Although there are a few relatively small units around a 1,000 acres in extent, the majority of the farms in this category are again several thousand acres in size. Sheep flocks are of slightly smaller size than those on the hill sheep farms. Up to 5 per cent. of the area of each holding consists of improved land capable of providing winter fodder and all-year round grazing for up to 50 cows as well as other cattle. There are many varieties of breed which have been introduced from the Lowlands, especially during the twentieth century. Altogether, these holdings may provide full-time employment for as many as five men.

Cattle more important than sheep

As over most of the Highlands of Scotland, this is the most important type of farming in Islay, from the point of view of proportion of total farming and farmworkers employed. From the smallest units of around 100 acres which rear a few young beasts, young lambs and wool for sale, to the larger units of over 3,000 acres, this group probably shows the greatest degree of heterogeneity in ownership and tenure, degree of mechanisation, breeds of stock, and produce for sale. Almost two-thirds of these holdings are tenanted, one-third managed for owners, and the remaining small proportion owner-occupied. Up to as much as 20 per cent. of the farm area is under crops and grass - a high percentage for the Highlands and Islands. From herds containing a few cows and some followers to those of more than three score, breeds vary according to farmer as much as to suitability of land. Several of the tenanted farms have changed hands recently and are farmed with the experience from other parts of Scotland and England. Breeds such as the Irish Blue-Grey, Belted Galloways and Herefords have been introduced and graze alongside the more characteristic Highlanders, Shorthorn and Cross Shorthorn (Cross Aberdeen Angus, or Ayrshire).



Two flocks vary from 50 to over 750 ewes, and Blackface with Cheviot and Border Leicester crosses are usual. Some of the smaller units only provide full-time employment for one man, but the larger ones can employ up to five.

#### Stock and feed

These are small units of 500 to 700 acres containing a very high proportion of good ground for cultivation for which high rents of up to 13/4d per acres are paid. As much as three-quarters of the land is under crops and grass. Young stock are brought from hill farms owned or rented by the same farmers, and are wintered and fattened on the better ground, with in addition, concentrated foodstuffs. But these intensive stockfeeding holdings comprise only a small and relatively unimportant part of the Islay farming scene.

#### C. MIXED STOCK-REARING AND DAIRY

##### Stockrearing with substantial dairy interest

Other factors to be considered when dairy cattle provide a substantial part of the stock and income of these farms are accessibility to main roads and additional labour supply. With one exception all of the farms in this category are between 1,000 and 2,000 acres in extent and contain varying proportions of cultivable and improved land on raised beach or valley bottom. The emphasis on the three branches of farming, stock-rearing sheep and dairy, varies according to the above factors of land quality, accessibility and labour and also according to the amount of capital available to the landowner who is responsible for the upkeep of steadings and equipment. Where there is sufficient capital available to the owner, dairy premises have been built and reliance is placed more and more on the dairy herd which produces an assured and steady income. On tenanted farms where initiative on the part of the farmer, and capital on the part of the landlord are forthcoming, dairying is likewise increasing in importance. But every holding still has part of its cattle stock for rearing, and usually has in addition a sheep stock of up to several hundred ewes. As each of these

various elements varies in importance so does the amount of labour necessary - usually from three to six men per holdings.

Dairying with substantial stockbreeding of cattle and sheep

These holdings are essentially dairy farms on which some of the dairy cows are crossed with store breeds as well as dairy to produce young rearing cattle for sale as well as milk. Most of these farms are fairly small, 400 to 700 acres only and are all accessible to main roads on the raised beaches and lower stretches of river valleys. They usually have only a small proportion of hill or rough ground suitable for sheep. Nowhere are sheep flocks greater than several score. Dairy herds run from twenty to forty cows, with additional young dairy and rearing stock. Dairy cows are in almost every case Ayrshires, the one exception being on holding, next to the airport, which has Jersey cows, and exports cream by air to Glasgow and London. Employment on these small dairy farms is never greater than three.

D. DAIRY

This category constitutes the Lowland part of Islay farming and the emphasis is entirely on Ayrshire stock on the best arable and grass land accessible to main roads for uplifting milk. These are mostly from 100 to 200 acres and have up to 30 per cent of their land cultivated each year. Herds are around twenty cows in size, and there is no other stock. Employment varies from two to four people depending on herd size and cultivated land.

These holdings form the main but not nearly exclusive source of milk for the Islay Creamery, established in 1943 by the Scottish Milk Marketing Board but now operated as a private concern. Cheeses are exported to the mainland under the Cheese Marketing Board.

D8. Dairy and Sheep

In the majority for these holdings, which comprise a fifth of the total number of farms, capital is lacking and land is considerably under-utilised. Hill

cattle especially could and should be introduced to make these very much more important components of the Islay agricultural system. There is a great variety of site, size and accessibility with regard to these farms and this has not recently been fully exploited.

SMALLHOLDINGS AND LOTMENTS.

Only a brief discussion of the small holdings and lotments is included here since at the present day these elements form only a small part of the total agricultural pattern of the island. They can be divided into two broad categories according to size, organisation and consequent efficiency of land utilisation. Many of the holdings which in previous chapters have been described as small holdings, the legacy of dwindling numbers of tenants in multiple tenancies, are in fact now over 50 acres in size and have been included in the foregoing account of the farming types of this island. On the other hand the majority even of those have rents of under £50 per year and in the crofting parishes of the Crofting Counties can be considered for registration as crofts. This partly accounts for the high total of 481 crofts given for Islay by Darling<sup>1</sup> in 1947 and even for the seemingly large number of 166 currently registered with the Crofters Commission. On the other hand it cannot be denied that in both totals, the greater proportion must comprise the second category of muir and village lotments set up in the nineteenth century.

The small holdings really constitute small farms which are the starting point on the agricultural scale in Islay. The majority are concerned with stockrearing of young cattle and of lambs, and other enterprises such as dairying are unimportant mainly due to lack of capital and facilities. In general the degree of land utilisation on these holdings

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1. Darling, F.F. West Highland Survey. p.252.

is no lower than on many of the larger farms, and is certainly far higher than that of all other holdings of smaller size.

Concerning the true crofts and lotments it can be stated that the greater part of the land which they comprise is under-utilised and badly in need of drainage and improvement (See Appendix 6). Both of these could be performed very much more efficiently if reorganisation of the present excessively small lotments and holdings were carried out. Already in most cases subletting and informal reorganisation has to some extent effected this slowly but land is still inefficiently organised from the point of view of optimum production. Likewise the twentieth century settlement schemes have either several tenancies now vacant, and village lotments are lying vacant or unutilised (see figure 55). With its overpowers of reorganisation increased under the 1961 Act<sup>1</sup> the Crofters Commission may well effect more reorganisation of these lotments on the island. The system around the village of Portnahaven is at present being studied with this in view.

There is therefore a considerable heterogeneity in the Islay farming structure and this is quite the opposite of the more generally conceived pattern of farming along the West Highland seaboard - one of rearing cattle and sheep solely. From 1953, slightly over 2,000 cattle have been shipped from the island each year (and this is gradually increasing). Some 200 landed each year and this creates an export surplus of about 1,800. About 14,000 sheep are exported, together with wool, 12,000 cheese and considerable quantities of eggs. Rapidly increasing tonnages of concentrated feeding stuffs, hay and potatoes are imported from Glasgow.

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<sup>1</sup> Crofters (Scotland) Act 1961.

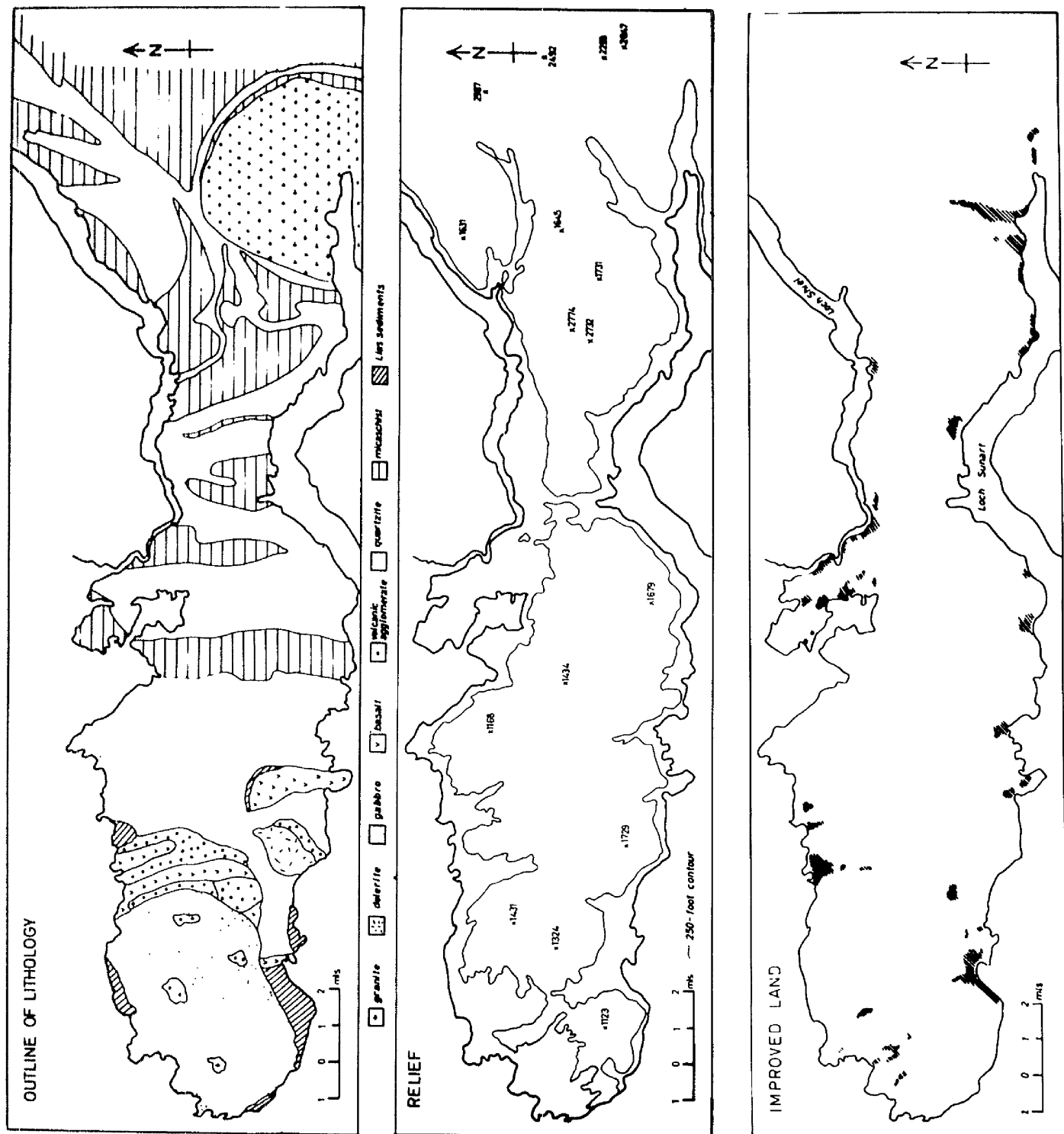


Figure 74. a. Outline of lithology b. Relief c. Improved land. Ardnamurchan-Sunart.

Present-day patterns of landholdings and land utilisation in  
Ardnamurchan-Sunart.

In contrast to the varied size of holdings and the varying degrees of land utilisation in Islay, the peninsula of Ardnamurchan and Sunart is much more characteristic of the west Highland seaboard as a whole in possessing firstly an extremely limited amount of improved land, peripherally distributed, and secondly, landholdings of extreme sizes from the very large grazing farms and sporting estates to the small units in crofting townships. This landholdings pattern is the result of the different processes and effects of the late arrival of the Agricultural Revolution in the peninsula, and is reflected in the present-day inefficient use, and under-utilisation of the land.

The distribution of improved land, past and present, is not here discussed at length for three reasons. The past distribution is much better illustrated by a study of part or all of Bald's magnificently detailed map of the peninsula in 1806. The area today is essentially a grazing and stock-rearing one, typical of the West Highland seaboard, and although improved land is the most important factor in stock capacity, the grazing nature of the remainder of the peninsula cannot be too strongly emphasised. Lastly it is the organisation of the landholdings into large grazing farms, sporting estates and small crofting townships that affects the present utilisation and concomitant problems. Figures 74a and 74b illustrate the distribution of relief and the main lithological types in the peninsula, emphasising once again the generally unfavourable eastern end of the peninsula in Sunart (the Strontian valley is an exception) and the usually high altitude of the peninsula as a whole. Figure 74c shows the distribution of improved land in more favourable valley, basin and coastal locations.

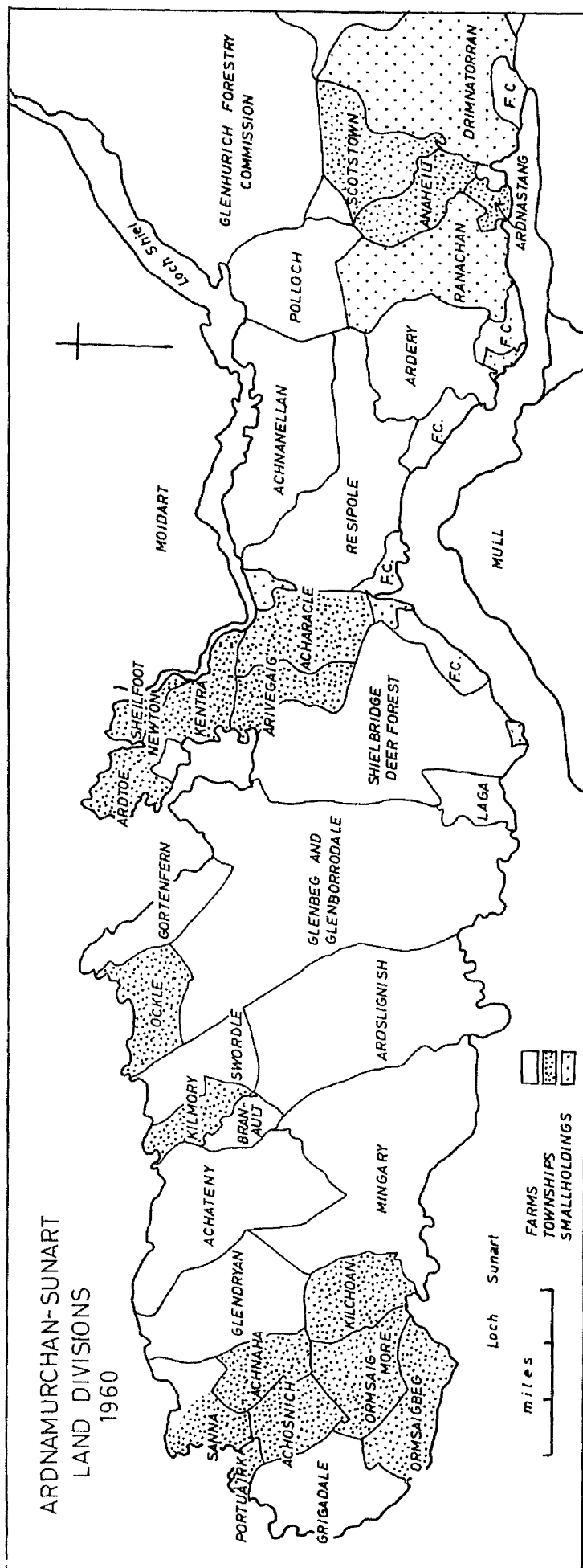


Figure 75. Land organisation in Ardnamurchan and Sunart.

As in Islay during the Nineteenth century the processes of dwindling and assimilation are the predominant one at work in the peninsula today. The larger grazing farms (see figure 75) are understocked owing mainly to the isolated nature of the peninsula with the consequent shortage of good shepherds as already noted for Islay's large farms. Exceptions are the areas near the home farms of Mingary and Ardsclighish, for example where land is used for experimental purposes by the large drugs firms of Boots. Over much of the rest of the areas of large farms, concentration on sheep farming with poor proportions of cattle for most of the Nineteenth and much of the Twentieth Centuries has resulted in the deterioration of land especially in areas once fairly well-drained (albeit by foot digging for the cultivation of potatoes in lazy-beds). These lazy-beds are seen in many parts of the farms which were formerly joint townships, and along with the ruined clachans form almost a characteristic part of the Ardnamurchan landscape like that of many other cleared areas of the Western Highland seaboard.

In the crofting townships of Western Ardnamurchan and Eastern Sunart (see figure 75) the small size of the holdings under the restrictive practices of crofting tenure, together with lack of subsidiary employment and greater degree of isolation from the Lowlands has led to great under-utilisation of the land. On the other hand the crofting townships around Kentra Bay between Ardnamurchan and Sunart, and near the main services centres of Acharacle and Salen, are still managing to retain their individual identities since they are slightly larger units and subsidiary source of income is available in forestry, road schemes and the services. Examples



	In the townships					Units		In other townships worked as parts of units in other townships		Total tenancies
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	
Kilchoan	8	6	2	-	-	5	4		-	8
Ormsaigbeg	23	12	11	-	-	14	7			23
Ormsaigmore	3	3	-	-	-	3	3			3
Achosnich	2	2	-	1	-	2	2	1	-	3
Achnaha	5	4	1	-	-	4	3			5
Sanna	18					2	2*			18
										*1 sublets Flocaig
Portnairk	8	5	3	-	-	5	2			8
Kilmory	5	3	2	-	-	3	3			5
Ockle	4	3	1			2	2			4
	76	38	20	1	-	40	28	1	-	75
Ardtoe	4	-	-	-	-	4	4			4
Acharacle E	4	4	-	-	-	4	3			4
Acharacle W	9	-	-	-	-	9	4			9
Arivegaig E	7	7	-	-	-	7	4			7
W	5	4	1	-	-	3	2			5
Newton	7	7	-	-	-	7	7			7
Kentra	10	8	2	-	-	8	4			10
Shielfoot	9	8	1	-	-	8	5			12*
										*2 vacant 1 is common grazing
	55	38	4	-	-	50	33			58
Ardnastang	8	8	-	-	-	8	4	1	-	8
Anaheilt	19	14	3	-	-	14	6	2		22*
L. Scotstown	4	3	1	-	-	4	2			5* *1 vacant
U. Scotstown	14	7	3	-	-	14	6	-	4	14* *formerly 32
Ranachan	3	3	-	-	-	3	2	1	-	4
Drumnatorran	4	4	-	-	-	3	2			4
	52	39	7	-	-	46	22	4	4	57
Grand total	183	115	31	1	-	136	83	5	4	190

Key: a. Tenants  
b. Worked by tenants  
c. Sublet  
d. Held in other townships  
e. Sublet in other townships  
f. Agricultural units  
g. Units with more than half sown  
h. By tenants  
i. By subtenants  
j. Tenancies.

Table 14. Working Units in Crofting Townships of Ardnamurchan-Sunart in 1959.

follow of townships from each of these three areas of the peninsula, the West End of Ardnamurchan, the Eastern Strontian valley in Sunart and the Central Acharacle-Salen area. The different results of the factors of size and organisation of the crofts, the alternative sources of livelihood, and the degree of isolation from the Lowlands, and their effects of land utilisation will be discussed. A summary of the agricultural situation in each township in Ardnamurchan-Sunart is given in table 14. The population of each township is also given in Appendix 8.

Crofting townships in the West End of Ardnamurchan.

At the lowest end of the scale of agricultural efficiency is the township of Sanna. Settled just after 1850 mainly by tenants displaced from the Swordies to the east, the township of Sanna comprised the small area of about 40 acres arable and 496 acres common pasture divided into 20 shares. Each tenant was allowed to keep two cows and followers (no sheep) and to grow potatoes. A living was to be eked out by fishing. Houses were erected on the undulating common grazing machair land below the crags of Meall Sanna; and the arable land consisted of three fields on the wetter loam soil sloping to the river Sanna (figure 76). In the most westerly field sixteen strips were laid out, while in the other two to the east, twenty narrow strips running parallel from dyke to stream were allocated to the twenty tenants thus following the old custom of sharing different qualities of land. Each tenant's share was in three portions amounting to about two acres each. At the present day only one tenant cultivates his strips for potatoes and he grazes a few cattle on Sanna and on the neighbouring Flocraig which he rents for sheep grazing.

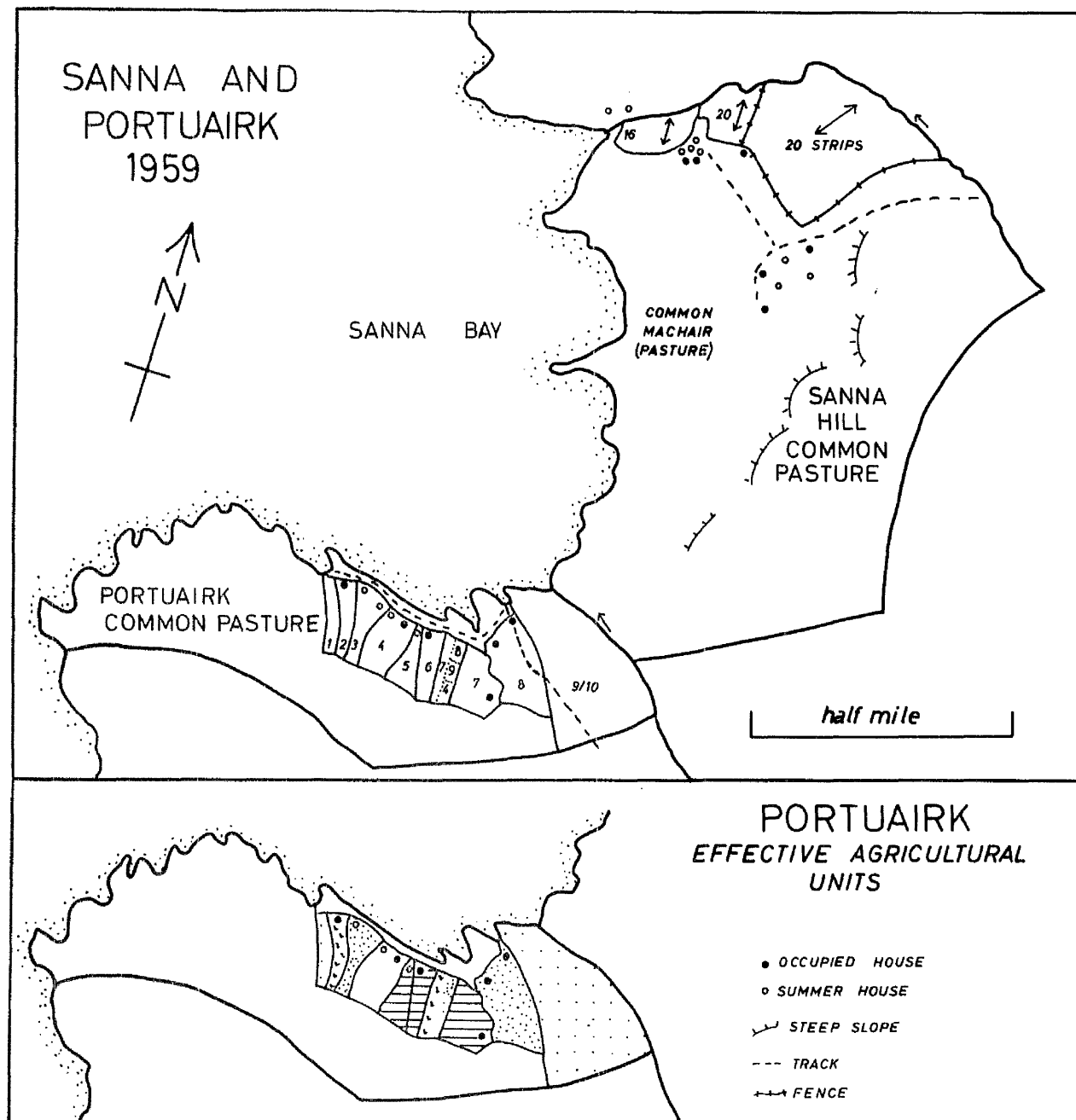


Figure 76. The present-day land organisation and settlement of Sanna and Portuairk in Ardnamurchan.

Only one other tenant keeps a cow in Sanna. Of the original twenty houses for tenants many are now ruined or unoccupied; others are retained only as summer houses for tenants living on the mainland. Only six houses are occupied throughout the year, mainly by elderly people (see Appendix 8).

Portusairk was likewise settled about 1850 by tenants from the Swordles and consisted of a small portion of arable land along the coastal bench at the southern end of Sanna Bay, together with a small common grazing of 141 acres shared by eleven tenants. Each share entitled the tenant to graze two cows and followers and again no provision was made for sheep. The eleventh share of the improved land (figure 76) comprised a small coastal arable area over the hill behind the main township. The remaining ten crofts were laid out in the pattern familiar to the rest of the West Highland region, with regularity of lines though not always holdings of equal area. The separate lots or crofts were laid out and numbered 1 to 10 from west to east, interrupted between numbers 6 and 7 by a strip of land to be divided equally into twenty additional strips, two for each tenant remaining. The shapes of the strips and the acreage each contained, varied for each tenant according to the quality of land contained, but the rent paid by each tenant was the same. By 1959 the additional township land had been allocated as shown in figure 75 to tenants 2, 4, 8, 9/10, without internal fencing. The units were worked as shown. No road exists to the township from the bumpy main road, and fences generally are in poor state of repair. The land is under-utilised in its present organisation.

Two townships in the West End which were not lotted until the

twentieth Century, Achosnich and Achnaha, have equidimensional crofts instead of rectilinear ones. Achosnich is no longer functioning as a township as two of the crofts are worked from the neighbouring farm of Grigadale; and the other two are used as single units. In the original clachan only one house is occupied permanently whilst there are three summer houses.

Achnaha situated in a small basin through which the upper tributaries of the Sanna river flow, was formerly more extensive and included the area later settled as Flocaig. In Achnaha itself the arable land was not consolidated into separate holdings until during the First World War and settlement has never moved from the original cluster on to the new holdings. These were arranged radially from the clachan forming crofts of unequal sizes and rents. The common pasture is fairly large amounting to over 1090 acres in six shares, and the sum is one horse, four cows and followers, and 33 sheep (equivalence 1 horse = two cows = ten sheep). The six joint tenants of the 1889 Fair Rents application with their equal rents and equal shares of arable and outrun or improved land amounting to about seven acres each, have given way to four agricultural units of today, three of which are cultivated, keep cattle. One tenant also grazes sheep. The township is not utilised to anything approaching its fullest extent, and only four houses are occupied all the year round.

The degree of utilisation of the other townships in the West End except Ockle and Kilchoan was previously discussed in Chapter 8. Details for these townships can be found in table 14. The situation in Ockle is similar to that in Kilmory and these two townships in which amalgamation

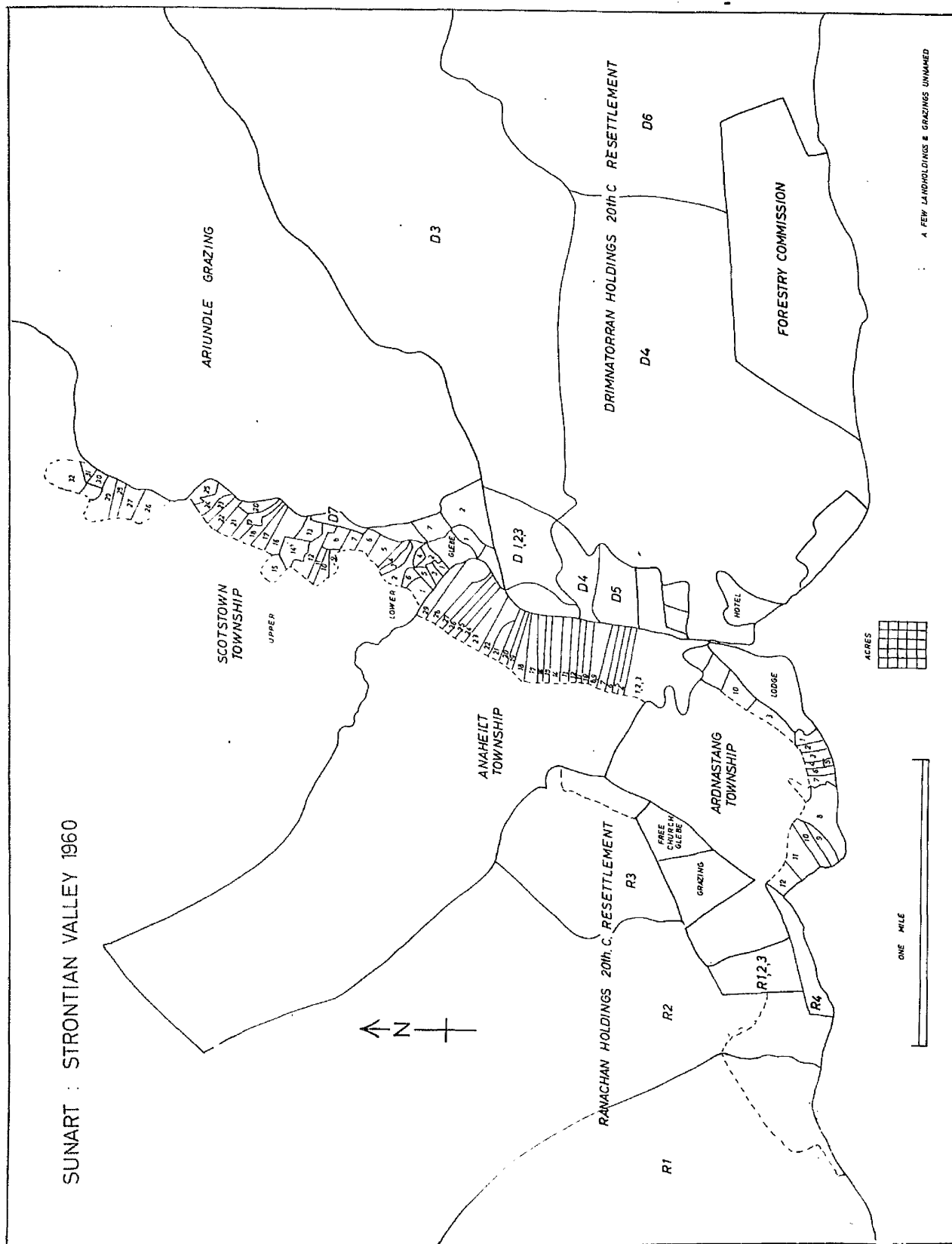
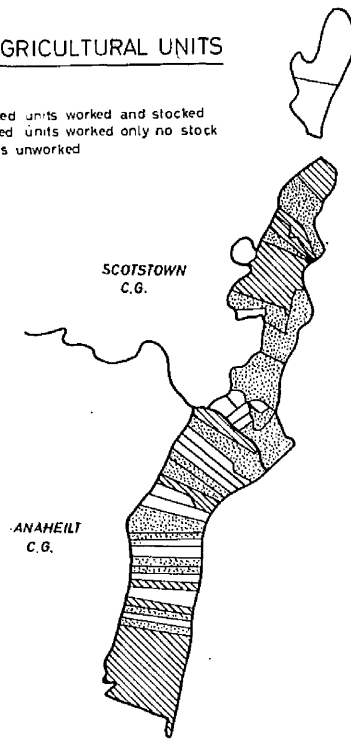


Figure 77. Present-day land organisation in the Strontian valley in Sunart.

# SUNART : SCOTSTOWN and ANAHEILT 1960

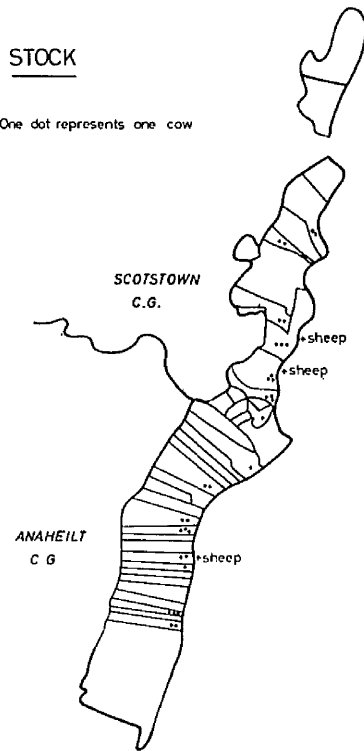
## A AGRICULTURAL UNITS

Stippled units worked and stocked  
Shaded units worked only no stock  
Others unworked



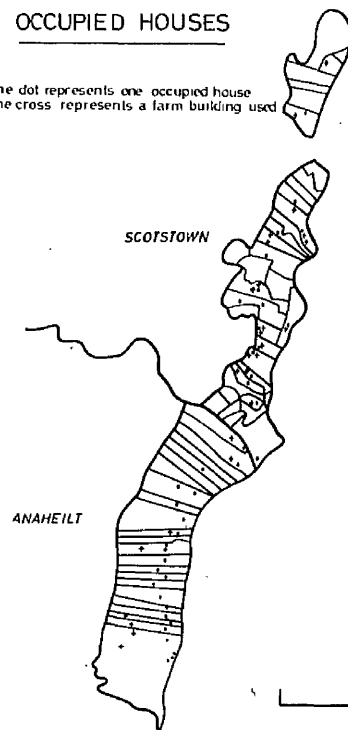
## B STOCK

One dot represents one cow



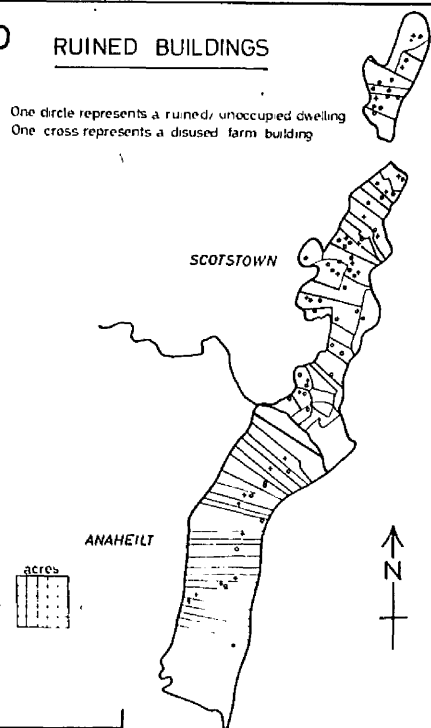
## C OCCUPIED HOUSES

One dot represents one occupied house  
One cross represents a farm building used



## D RUINED BUILDINGS

One circle represents a ruined/ unoccupied dwelling  
One cross represents a disused farm building



acres

One mile



Figure 78. Land utilisation, stocking and settlement (past and present) in Scotstown and Anaheilt, in the Strontian valley in Sunart.

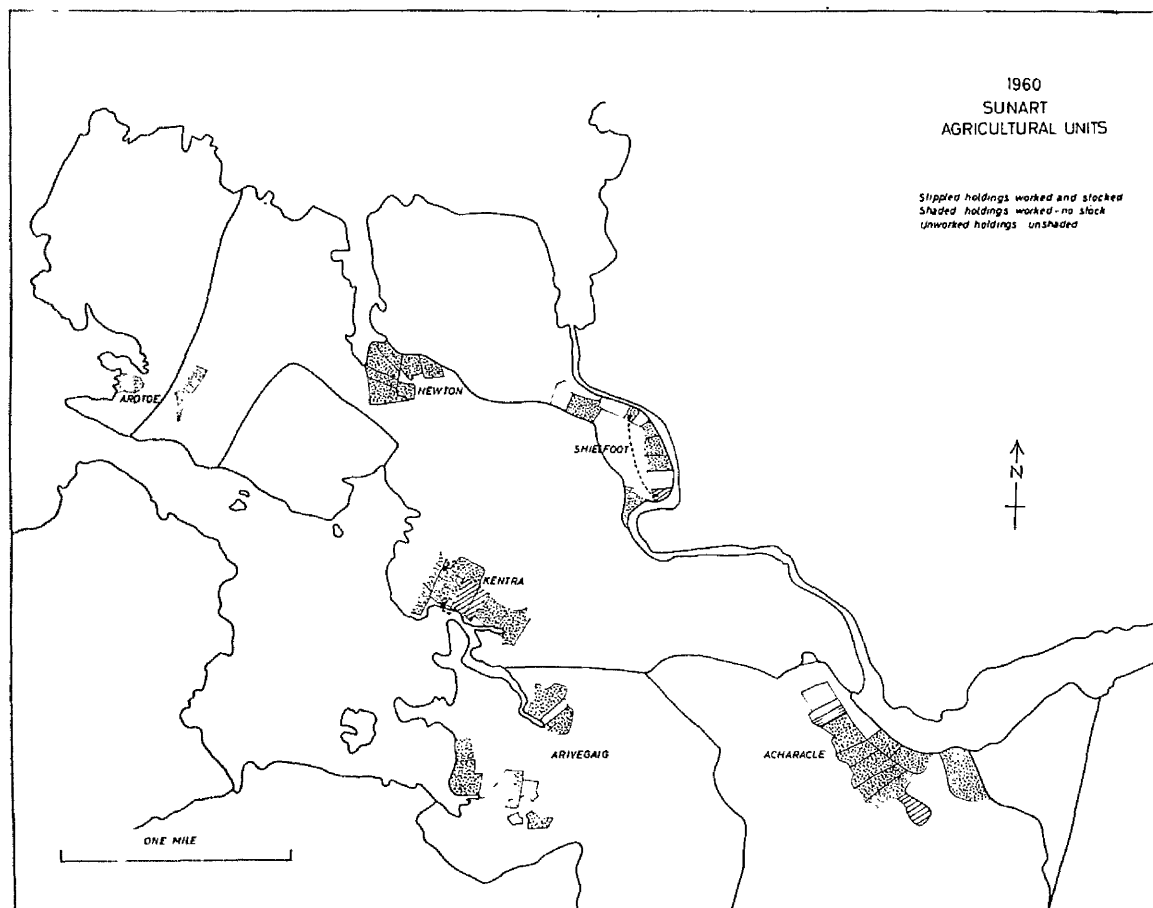
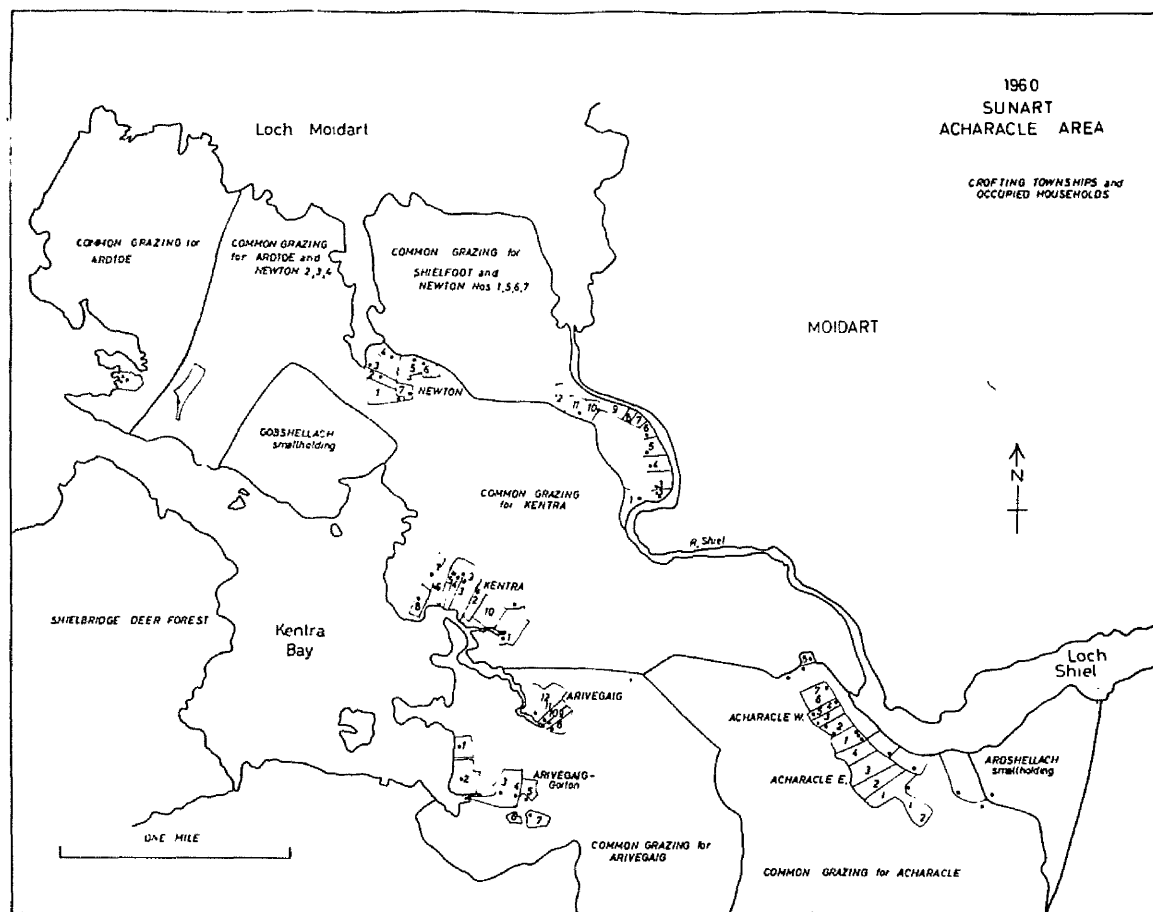


Figure 79. Present land organisation, effective agricultural units, and settlement in the Acharacle area of Sunart.



of smaller units has taken place are amongst the best utilised in the entire western part of Ardnamurchan.

Townships in the Eastern End of Sunart.

The greater part of Sunart comprised and still consists of large grazing tacks and farms which gradually became larger through amalgamation. At the eastern and western ends of Sunart, however, there are several crofting townships. In the Eastern End, in the Strontian river valley the crofts are generally linear in shape (figures 77 and 78) and are too small for efficient agricultural utilisation. The 29 crofts of the township of Anaheilt have given way to 14 units which are worked for Scotstown the figures are 32 and 12. Again the twentieth Century resettled holdings of the Ranachans and Drimnatorran are reverting to single units. The figures for the townships would be even lower had it not been for the slight arrest made to population decline by the establishment this century of large areas of Forestry Commission plantation in the former Polloch and Glenorepisdale farms nearby.

Central area of the peninsula around Kentra Bay.

This extension of forestry from the 1930's in Sunart from Salen Bay to Polloch has also been one of the causes helping to retain younger people in the area around Salen and Kentra Bays. Along with the greater facilities even in these small services centres this has resulted in agricultural land utilisation being at a higher grade of efficiency than anywhere else in the entire peninsula even in still small units. This is especially noticeable when compared to the western end in Ardnamurchan where land utilisation is almost generally at a low ebb in the townships. Figures 79a and 79b illustrate the much greater number of houses occupied

and holdings worked singly (with cultivation, cattle and sheep) in the Acharacle area around Kentra Bay than in any other part of the peninsula studied. This is especially true of the townships of Newton, Kentra and Arivegaig, where individual holdings are larger in size, the township of Shielfoot with no proper road let alone footway on the other hand, shows the more characteristic blank spaces of disused land.

Throughout the peninsula the emphasis is on stock-rearing, both on the large grazing farms and in the crofting townships. There is neither the variety of types of farming enterprise nor of breeds or stock that is to be found in Islay. In the smallest crofting townships sheep are specifically excluded from the soum (or township grazing stint). Some crofts may be cultivated for potatoes and cattle fodder, whilst others are worked only for potatoes, or left unused. In the townships of larger holdings the rearing of young cattle and sheep for sale is carried on to varying degree. In the western and eastern ends of the peninsula there is a greater number of holdings not utilised at all, than there is in the central area (see for example, figures 78 and 79 and table 14). Generally on the larger farms there is an unbalance today between sheep and cattle as is characteristic of many areas of the West Highland seaboard today. There is as much due to the isolational factor of shepherd shortage as to difficulty of obtaining adequate winter fodder locally or by importation.

Both the environment and the pattern of landholdings in the peninsula are more inimical to a high proportion of full-time agricultural employment than in Islay. This is true to even greater degree of the more

remote parts of the seaboard. Table 15 illustrates the combined effect of environment and organisation of landholdings on the ability of the island and the peninsula and selected areas of the Outer Hebrides to support full-time agricultural occupation.

Area	Total Number 15-64 years employed	Full-time Agriculture	Part-time Agriculture	Non- Agricultural
Islay (1958)	1243	35%	negligible	65%
Ardnamurchan- Sunart (1959)	215	34		51
South Uist (1956)	1016	22		42
Barra (1957)	288	15		43

Table 15. Percentages of men and women between 15 and 64 years of age employed in agriculture in Islay, Ardnamurchan-Sunart, South Uist and Barra (See Appendices 1 and 8).

In Islay a superior environment and a more satisfactory pattern of landholdings have produced a landscape much more Lowland than Highland in character and the result is that today there is only a negligible percentage of the working population engaged partly in agriculture and partly in other occupations. In the areas of the West Highland seaboard where a more revolutionary type of landholdings pattern has resulted, there is a less satisfactory range of farm and croft size and organisation. The ability to support full-time agricultural employment decreases where crofting townships of holdings too small for economic use today have become relatively more important than other holdings. From table 15 it is seen that an increasing proportion of people are employed part-time in

agriculture and part-time in other occupations as environment deteriorates and the organisation of the land becomes less satisfactory - in the Outer Hebridean islands of South Uist and Barra for example. There is less and less specialisation of occupation in these areas where the Agricultural Revolution arrived late and had less satisfactory results.

The changeover from the ubiquitous order of tacks and joint farms in these two areas has resulted in differing patterns of land organisation and agricultural utilisation. These in turn form different facets of the Highland Problem. Following these changes on the land, closely, or at some distance in time, were changes in settlement and population patterns which also affect the attempted remedies to the Highland Problem. These settlement and population changes are discussed in Section IV.

Chapter 11. POPULATION SETTLEMENT AND OCCUPATION PATTERNS  
IN ISLAY FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The first total count of the population of the different parishes in Scotland was that of Webster in 1755.<sup>1</sup> He gave the total island population of Islay as 5344 but did not divide it for the three separate parishes. That of Ardsnamurchan and Sunart was 2750. As the eighteenth century progressed, various travellers and writers filled in population details with varying degrees of accuracy, indicating for example, the early emigrations to North America and the beginnings and growth of the village of Bowmore in Islay. The old Statistical Account<sup>2</sup> of the last decade of the eighteenth century gives details of the population in total parish numbers, as well as births, deaths and marriages. But it is not until 1801 that a true start can be made to the study of population patterns involving total rise and decline, decennial changes, occupations, age structures, migrations and places of birth. The published volumes of the Census of Scotland from 1801 to 1961, and the unpublished volumes containing enumeration schedules for the years from 1841 to 1891, form the basis of subsequent work on population, settlement and occupations. They are used in conjunction with estate documents and Ordnance Survey Maps, air photographs, and the results of field study. From some or all of these sources the changes in population and settlement patterns which occurred with evolution of landholdings and land utilisation patterns can be reconstructed.

In Islay the eighteenth century population with unspecialised but multifarious occupations, living predominantly in clusters or clachans has given way to a population of fairly specialised occupations. Now one-third of the population is in single or small grouped settlements in rural areas

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1. Webster, Rev. A. Enumeration of Population of Scotland 1755.
  2. The Old Statistical Account, vol. XI, p.276 et seq.

dispersed between industrial villages which contain the remaining two-thirds. In Ardnamurchan and Sunart the clachans of unspecialised people have given way to single dwellings accompanied by a fairly restricted range of occupations. In some cases the single dwellings are isolated farms, few and far between; in others, especially in the crofting townships, population is dispersed over a fairly small area. In both areas however the essential feature accompanying rise and decline of population in the nineteenth century has been the waxing and waning of the clustered form of settlement, leaving in its wake many ruined clachans surrounded by once-cultivated land. Only a few of the original sites of the clachans are still occupied by clachan settlements which more often than not now contain many unoccupied or ruined houses.

From the first source, that of the published volumes of the Census of Scotland from 1801 to 1961, the general total and parish trends of population can be studied for the two chosen areas. But to understand the changes which took place in distribution, density and structure of population and settlement within these broad parish areas, recourse has to be made to the other sources previously mentioned, of which the unpublished volumes of the Census of Scotland are the most useful. These two major sources, supplemented by others, form the basis of the following discussion of the evolution of patterns of population and settlement, which corresponds closely (though not necessarily simultaneously) to the evolution of the patterns of landholdings. Each area will be studied over the whole period; the present chapter discusses changes in Islay whilst Chapter 12 relates to Ardnamurchan-Sunart.

The published volumes of the Census of Scotland provide the first source and form the basis for figures 80 and 81. Figure 80 shows the total and parish populations for Islay from 1801 to 1951, with the addition of Dr. Webster's total for the whole island in 1755, and the writer's parish totals

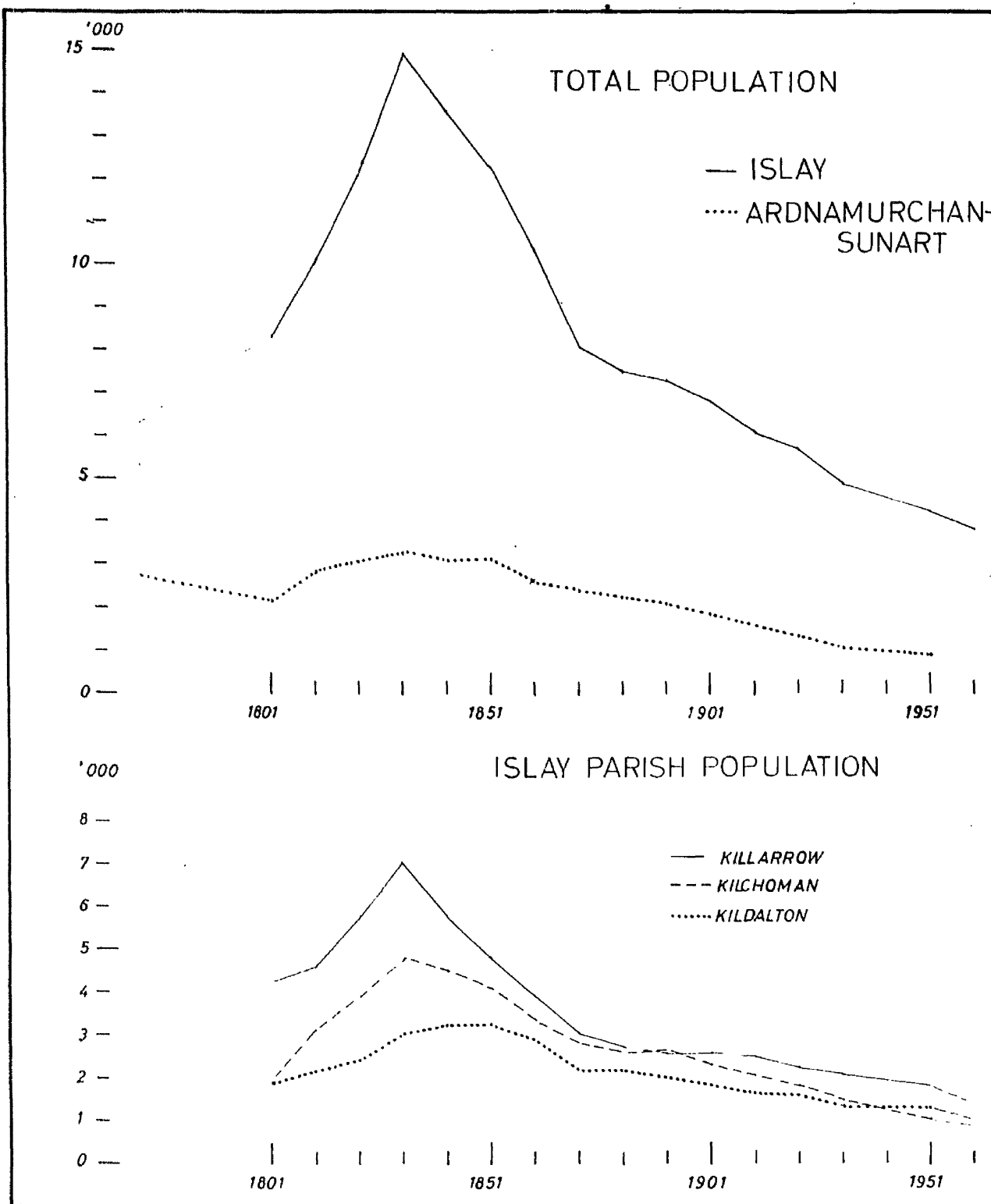


Figure 80. Total and parish populations for Islay and Ardnamurchan-Sunart from 1801 to 1961.

for the year 1956. After an exceedingly sharp rise in the early nineteenth century, the total island population is seen to have reached a maximum around 1831. The subsequent decline was almost as rapid over the next four decades, after which total numbers were less and rates of decline were less sudden.<sup>1</sup> The same broad trends are discernible in the graphs of parish population but there are some regional differences worth noting. The parishes in Islay can be taken as distinct regions since the three major parishes are each separated by a no-man's land of peat-covered moss or hilly ground. Each parish, especially Kilchoman, and Kildalton and Ca, can be further divided into southern and north-eastern sections, with respect to landholdings, population and settlement, both in the past and at the present-day. But for the moment the diagrams show the major parish totals from the published census volumes.

The parish graphs illustrate firstly that the most populous part of the island, in the past, as now, comprises the central parish of Killarow and Kilmeny. This corresponds to the earliest area of improvements on the best and largest area of tillable land around the laird's mansion at the western end of the midland valley. At the present day this region still contains the largest proportion of arable ground besides containing the major services centre, Bowmore, two other distillery villages Bunnehabhain and Caol Ila, and the three small services centres of Bridgend, Ballygrant and Keills. The presence of these amenities together results in the lowest rate of decline in population in this parish of Killarow and Kilmeny. The second parish, that of Kilchoman, was the next most populous region at the start of the nineteenth century. It contained a numerous township population on farms and joint farms, and as the decades passed, the three growing villages of Port Charlotte, Port Wemyss and Portnahaven. With some clearances and reductions in numbers of tenants and others on the land, population declined in Kilchoman after the

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1. This was in contrast to most parts of the Outer Hebrides for example where population continued to increase until the late nineteenth or early 20th cen



1830's especially as line-fishing became unsuccessful.<sup>1</sup> But the 1880's saw the resuscitation of fishing - this time of herring fishing from the villages and from the northern part of the Rhinna peninsula on the west side of Loch Gruinard. There was also the establishment of a distillery at Bruichladdich. The parish population rose absolutely for about the next two decades. With a subsequent drop in fish catches however during the succeeding decades, and later the closure of one distillery at Port Charlotte, the rate of decline in population became severe. The peninsula is still losing people at a fairly rapid rate since many of the agricultural areas are relatively remote in terms of communications and services unlike the parish of Kilarrow and Kilmeny. The rapid decline of the villages in the Rhinna will be further discussed later.

The remaining parish, that of Kildalton and Oa, must be subdivided even at this stage into the Kildalton portion in which township population was never numerous and which never had a very high number of people; and the high and moor-covered peninsula of the Oa. There the interior valleys and basins supported a very high population, relative to area, in the first half of the nineteenth century. This, together with the rise of villages in the Kildalton portion of the parish, accounts for the increase of population continuing until and beyond the census of 1841. Thereafter the decrease in numbers of people on the landholdings of the Oa, and later of farm-workers in Kildalton, was only partially off-set by the industrial villages, containing five whisky distilleries in all. The major port of the island, Port Ellen is in the Kildalton part of the parish and serves as a services and holiday centre. Islay's airport at Glonegisdale is five miles to the north. If the parish map then were re-drawn in its separate portions, the depopulated Oa, and the

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1. See footnote on fishing at end of chapter.

# % DECENNIAL POPULATION CHANGE from 1801

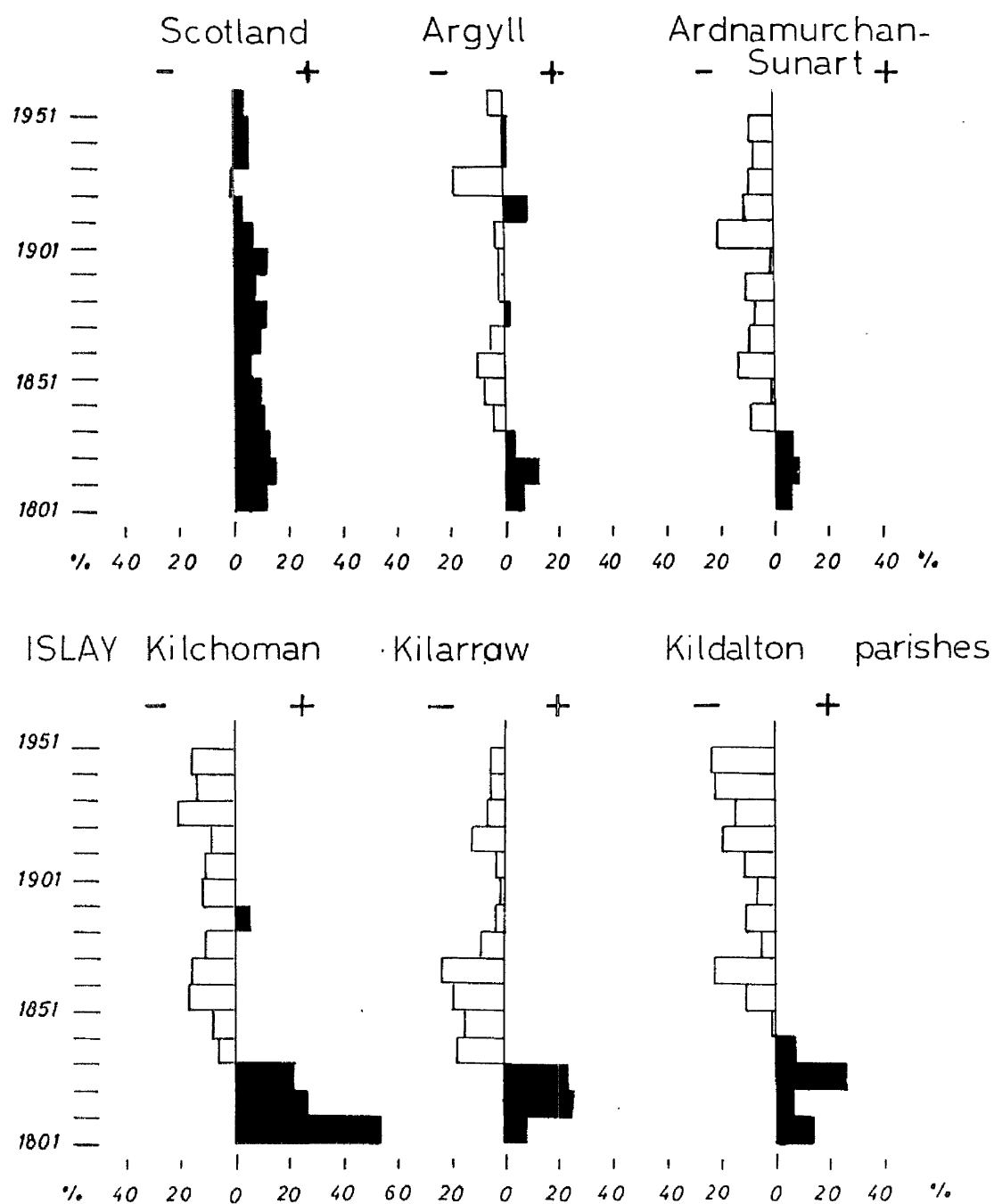


Figure 81. Decennial population change from 1801 to 1951 for Scotland, Argyll, Ardnamurchan and Islay. (Census of Scotland published volumes)

industrial part of Kildalton, the trends would be much more extreme.

These changing rates of population increase and decrease are better studied in figure 81 which shows the percentage decennial population changes for the three parishes of Islay from 1801 to 1961. Probably the most striking feature, corroborated by a study of estate documents relating to numbers of tenants and people on the island, is the very great decennial increase between 1801 and 1811 (over 50% in the parish of Kilchoman) and the continued high increase until 1831, related to the presence of a large agricultural population, as well as some kelp and linen manufacture, fishing and distilling which provided sole or subsidiary incomes. But even so, the rate of increase in Islay was not so great as elsewhere in the Highlands and Islands over the same period<sup>1</sup>. Kelp-manufacture was fairly unimportant (there was not a sufficient tidal range to encourage the horizontally widespread growth of sea-wrack); access to the Lowlands of Scotland, and early emigrations to North America had prevented such a high degree of overpopulation and land pressure as occurred elsewhere in the region during the latter part of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth centuries; and the establishment and growth of industrial and residential villages had attracted people away from the land. Total population increased until 1841 in the parish of Kildalton and Oa (Mainly in the peninsula of Oa) but thereafter declined at varying rates, lowest in the parish of Kilarrow and Kilmeny, greatest in the Oa (Kildalton Parish) and in the Rhinns (Kilchoman Parish) with the exception of the previously mentioned resuscitation of the herring fishing industry in the Rhinns of the 1880's.

Population changes however can be illustrated in greater detail than the rather unsatisfactory parish total, which as has been shown for the parish of Kildalton and Oa for example, does not reveal internal regional differences in population patterns. The same is true if one considers the other parishes, especially when a distinction is made between primary rural population in agricultural areas, and the rest of the population in industrial or services villages. The unpublished census of Scotland enumeration schedules are the

1. See for example Darling, F.F. West Highland Survey, Section III ;  
or Gray, M. Several works listed in Bibliography.

TERMS USED WITH REFERENCE TO CENSUS OF SCOTLAND ABSTRACTS

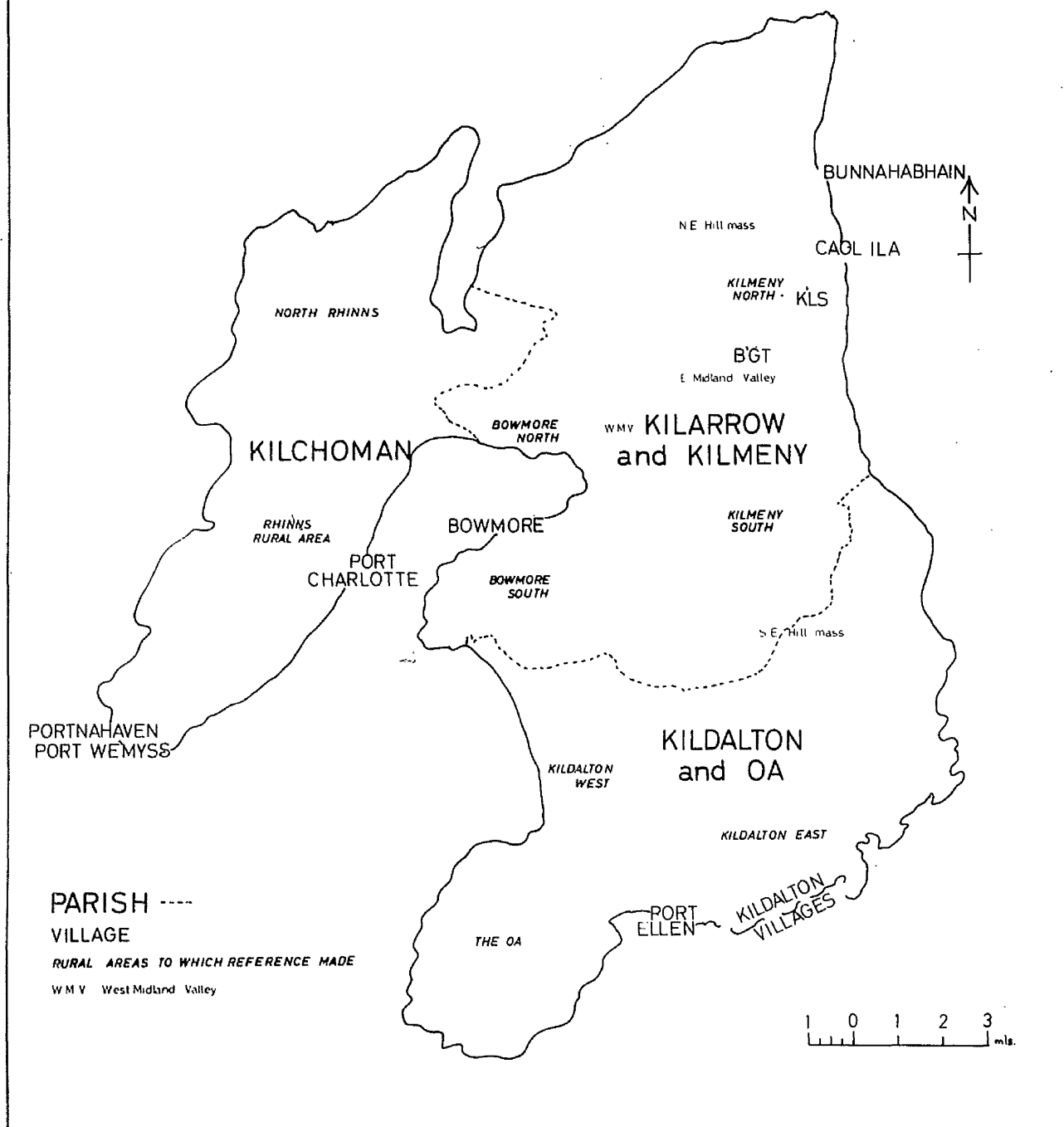


Figure 82. Location of regions in Islay to which reference is made in Chapter 11.

most important nineteenth century source that can be used to provide the more relevant geographical distinctions of one area from another, in terms of population and of settlement. A discussion of the Census of Scotland as an important source in the historical geography of the nineteenth century is to be found in Appendix 7. A census of the population of Islay was carried out by the writer in 1958. Some of the results of this are included in the remainder of this chapter: total populations for the various regions of Islay are given in Appendix 8.

A study of some of the results which can be obtained from the material abstracted from the census is here limited to the four most important facets of population and of settlement especially applicable to and characteristic of the island of Islay in the later nineteenth century. There are:

1. Regional differences in the rates of increase and decrease in population.
2. Change in size and distribution of population groups: in density and distribution of settlements. These are partly covered by and partly reflect decreasing numbers of people per household.
3. Changes in occupation structures and
4. Changes in balance of age structures .

Figure 82 shows the geographical location of the regional subdivisions, rural and village, that have been used in studying the census information.

#### 1. Regional differences in the rates of increase and decrease in population

Population changes in rural and village areas in Islay are shown in table 16 in which populations for 1861, 1891 and 1958 are expressed as percentages of the 1841 near-maximum of population.

<u>Rural Areas</u>	<u>1861 as % 1841</u>	<u>1891 as % 1841</u>	<u>1958 as % 1841</u>
Bowmore	56.8%	37.3%	15.0%
Kilmory	71.9	32.2	12.1
Rhinns	62.4	43.5	11.9
Kildalton	73.7	55.8	13.0
Oa	78.8	21.8	4.5

(Table continued overleaf)

<u>Villages</u>	<u>1861 as % 1841</u>	<u>1891 as % 1841</u>	<u>1958 as % 1841</u>
Port Ellen	114	110.4	80
Port Charlotte	123.7	119.2	57.9
Portnahaven	110.5	86.0	20.3
Port Weyms	122.3	124.5	20.5
Bowmore	84	70.6	52

Table 16. Population of selected rural areas and of villages in Islay in 1861, 1891 and 1958, expressed as percentage of the near-maximum population total in 1841.

In the rural areas the regions showing the least percentage decline in population between 1841 and 1861 were in the Kilmeny, Kildalton and Oa districts, whereas those which had earlier suffered the greatest degree of agricultural and landholdings reorganisation, in the southern Rhinns, and in the area around Bowmore, showed greater decreases. The period between 1861 and 1891 however reflects the greater decline in number of agricultural tenants in the interior Kilmeny valleys and in the Oa. By 1891, the populations of these areas were respectively on 32.2% and 21.8% of the total of fifty years earlier. But in the remaining rural areas there had not been such heavy depopulation as the agricultural situation had been more stable in the intervening period. By 1891 the Kildalton area still had more than half of its 1841 total, whilst the Rhinns had just under half, and the region around Bowmore still had nearly 40%. The same trends continued into the next century except that the Rhinns, the remotest of all areas from shipping and airport facilities, as well as from the larger villages of Bowmore and Port Ellen, has declined much more rapidly than in the nineteenth century. The Oa peninsula, equally isolated in terms of amenities of roads and also in terms of agricultural organisation has equally rapidly declined in numbers until less than five per cent of the population of 1841 now lives there. This is the area where there is the greatest degree of under-utilisation of land.

For the majority of villages the picture is brighter and depopulation was neither so rapid or so noticeable until the present century. The fishing





Figure 83a. The east side of the harbour at Portnahaven in Islay : the lighthouse and island of Oronsay are seen in the background.



Figure 83b. The village of Portnahaven at the present-day has a total of 76 houses, of which 44 are inhabited throughout the year: 22 are used as summer houses by owners living and working on the mainland : and 10 are unoccupied or in a ruined state.





Figure 84a.

Port Charlotte  
village, Islay.  
Set up in the  
1830's.



Figure 84b.

The village and  
port of Port  
Ellen in Islay.  
Set up in the  
late 1820's.



Figure 84c.

The village of  
Bowmore's old  
church, established  
in 1768; side by  
side with new  
County Council  
houses of 1960.



and/or distillery villages of Port Ellen, Port Charlotte, Portnahaven and Port Wemyss, all of which had been set up between the 1820's and 1830's to absorb population from the land, all showed increased populations between 1841 and 1861 and only slight decreases on the 1861 figures by the time of 1891. The twentieth century however has seen very divergent development or decay in these villages. Portnahaven (figure 83) and Port Wemyss show the most drastic decline of all the villages on the island, almost but not quite rivalling the rural areas in size of decline. This is the result of the loss of their major source of livelihood, fishing. With only a fifth of their erstwhile population now living in these villages, there is the distinct possibility of even this proportion being rapidly reduced in numbers through old age, celibacy and death. There is scarcely any livelihood to be found in these villages now, although they once supported fishing, agricultural and services populations.

Port Charlotte (figure 84a) increased fairly considerably in size during the nineteenth century with immigration from the surrounding agricultural areas, and with prosperity in fishing and distilling. With the loss of these two sources of livelihood, the twentieth century has seen its greater decline relative to Port Ellen and Bowmore. Increasing relative remoteness of the peninsula as a whole from the main agricultural, industrial and services areas of the island has contributed to this trend. As will later be illustrated many of the people are elderly, and the next few decades are likely to show a more rapid decline in population unless some or an alternative employment other than in the village's creamery, agricultural and general services, is introduced.

Port Ellen (figure 84b) is the largest village at the present day, with the steamer port and relatively accessible airport nearby and has managed to retain 80% of the population total reached in 1841. In addition it is now the chief holiday centre of the island with developments recreational and sporting

facilities rare in the majority of the Hebrides except Skye and to a lesser extent Mull.

The decline of the once largest village of Bowmore (figure 84c) still the self-termed capital of the island, is at first sight surprising when one reads the figure of just over half of its 1841 population. But more than any other village on the island this was essentially created as a residential village for paid agricultural workers, for craftsmen and for the services. In the new revolution of the Twentieth Century, that of mechanisation, both categories have been considerably reduced in numbers. This is only partially offset by the increased numbers engaged in the services provided for many of the rural areas to the north-east and east, and by such schemes as house construction and road-making. Similar reasons of greater mechanisation and less need for unskilled labour account for the decline in numbers of the distillery villages of the north-east coast, Bunnahabhain and Caol Ila, and of the south-east coast, Laphroaig, Lagavullin and Ardbeg. In the present century many of the young people who prefer more skilled employment have left the distillery villages for the larger villages or the mainland. The smaller services centres of Ballygrant and the former weaving village of Keills in the midland valley, just as in many rural areas in mainland Scotland, have had many of their functions taken over by concerns in the larger village of Bowmore, and this accounts for their decline.

## 2. Changes in size and distribution of population groups.

These trends of decreasing rural population; of village population at first showing increase later followed by decrease; and the increasingly peripheral distribution of population, are illustrated in figures 85a to 85c which have been constructed to show total population groupings from the Census of Scotland schedules for 1841, 1861 and 1891. Comparison is made in

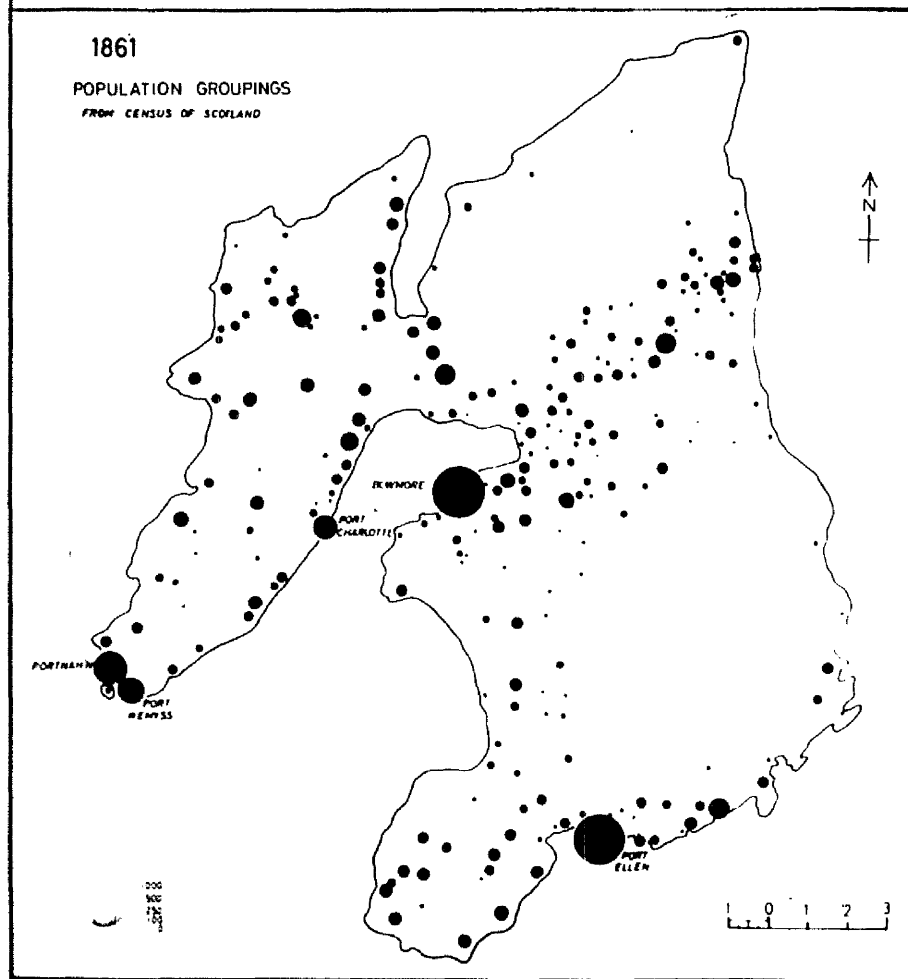
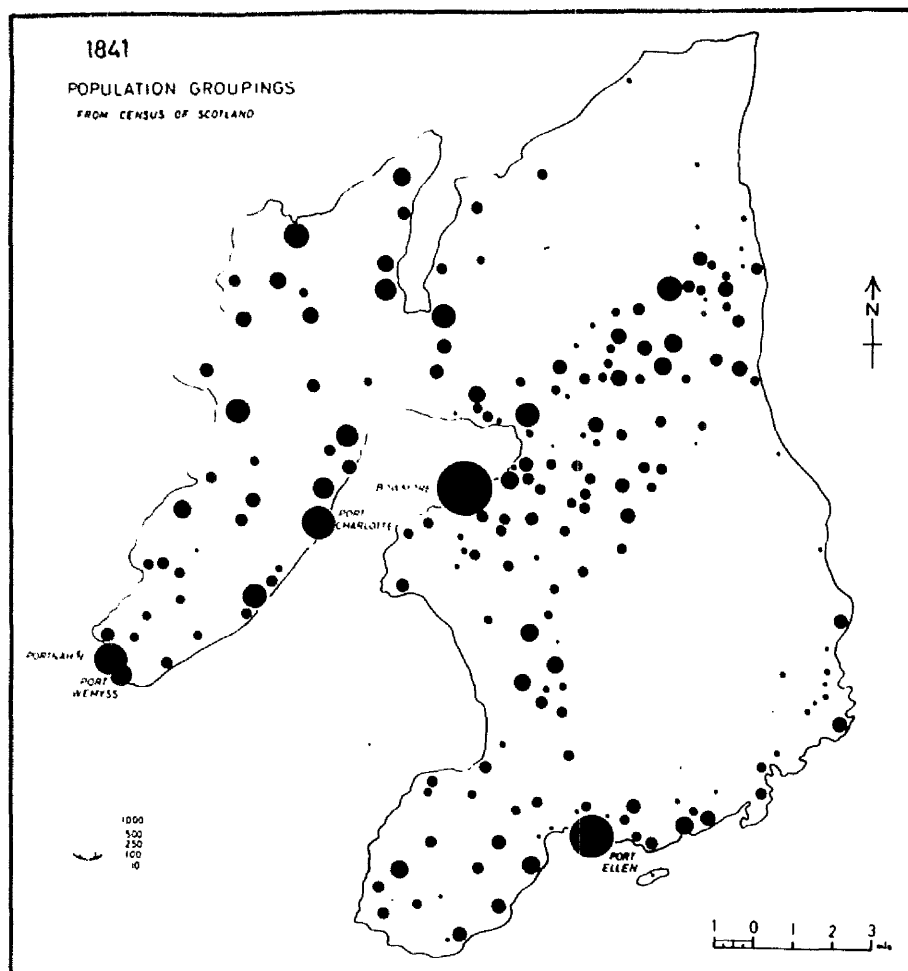


Figure 85a. Population groupings in Islay, 1841.  
85b. Population groupings in Islay, 1861.

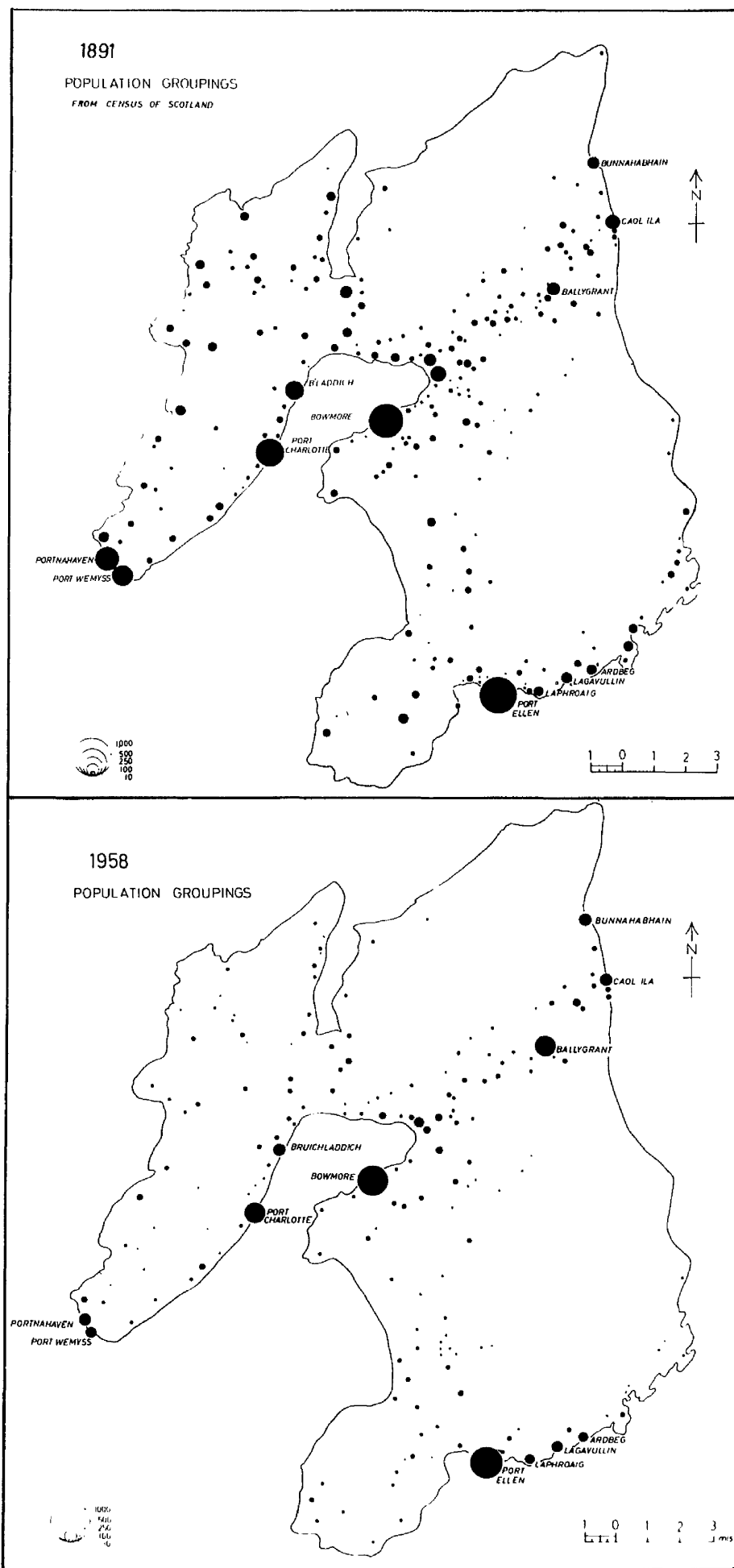


Figure 85c. Population groupings in Islay in 1891.  
85d. Population groupings in Islay in 1958.  
(writer's census)

figure 85d which shows population distribution for the year 1958.

Everywhere in the rural areas, especially in the Rhinns, the interior valleys of the south-eastern hill-mass, and in the Oa peninsula, there is a decrease in number, size and area of distribution of rural population groupings. By 1958 the majority of the rural settlements had become small single family units except in a few areas of the northern Rhinns and the Oa. During the remainder of the Nineteenth Century the villages are once again seen to hold their own as regards size. By the Twentieth Century, however, the villages too had decreased in size as population emigrated to the mainland for economic advancement.

### 3. Changes in density and distribution of settlements.

With the changing patterns of land holdings and land organisation, as well as increase and decline in population, there have been accompanying changes in the density and distribution of the settlement pattern in Islay. The Eighteenth Century population worked land jointly from clustered clachans, containing up to perhaps a dozen or so houses. The late Eighteenth and the first two or three decades of the Nineteenth Centuries saw these clachans increase in size and number of houses as numbers of agricultural tenants and others increased. Or alternatively as for example in Lurabus, Oa, daughter clachans arose. But between the time of the major phase of reorganisation of the land in the 1830's and the last quarter of the century, much of the clustered population had given way to a more dispersed one of single farms or smallholdings in the rural areas between the increasingly large industrial villages. In many cases the single farm house and its steadings replaced the old cluster on the same site and the stones of the old buildings were incorporated in the new. Or the old clachan became unoccupied and finally ruinous after the new farmhouse was built elsewhere on the reorganised farm. In those areas which still show a

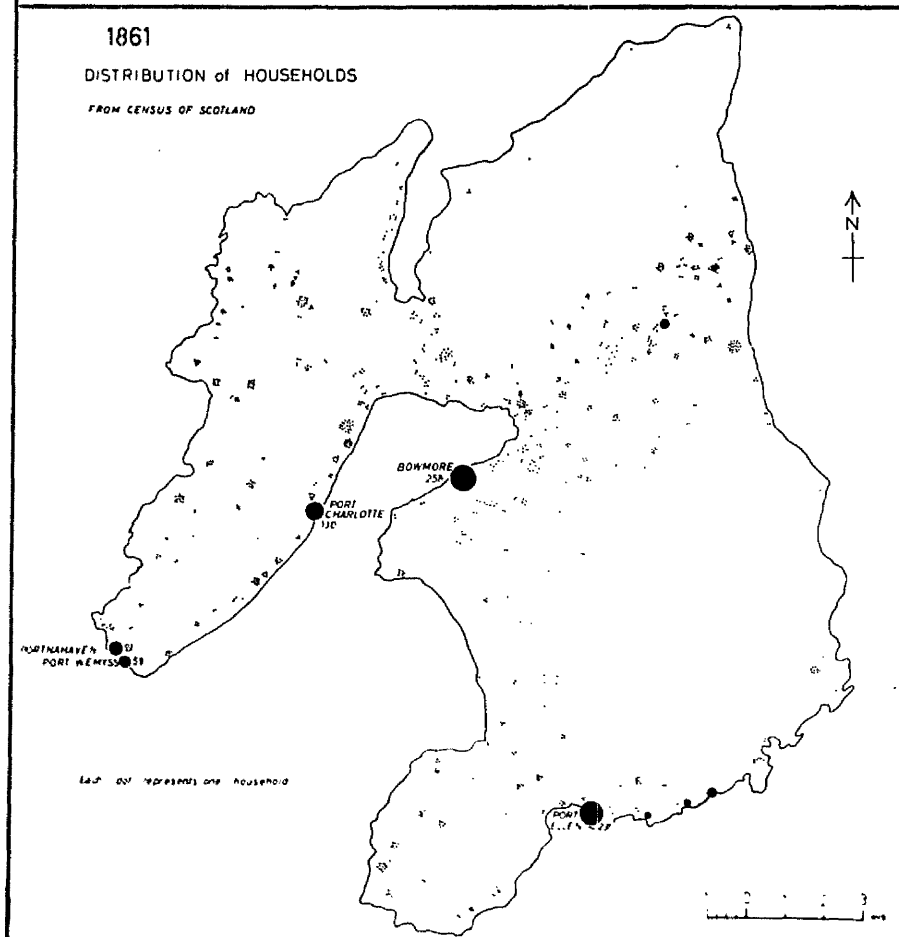
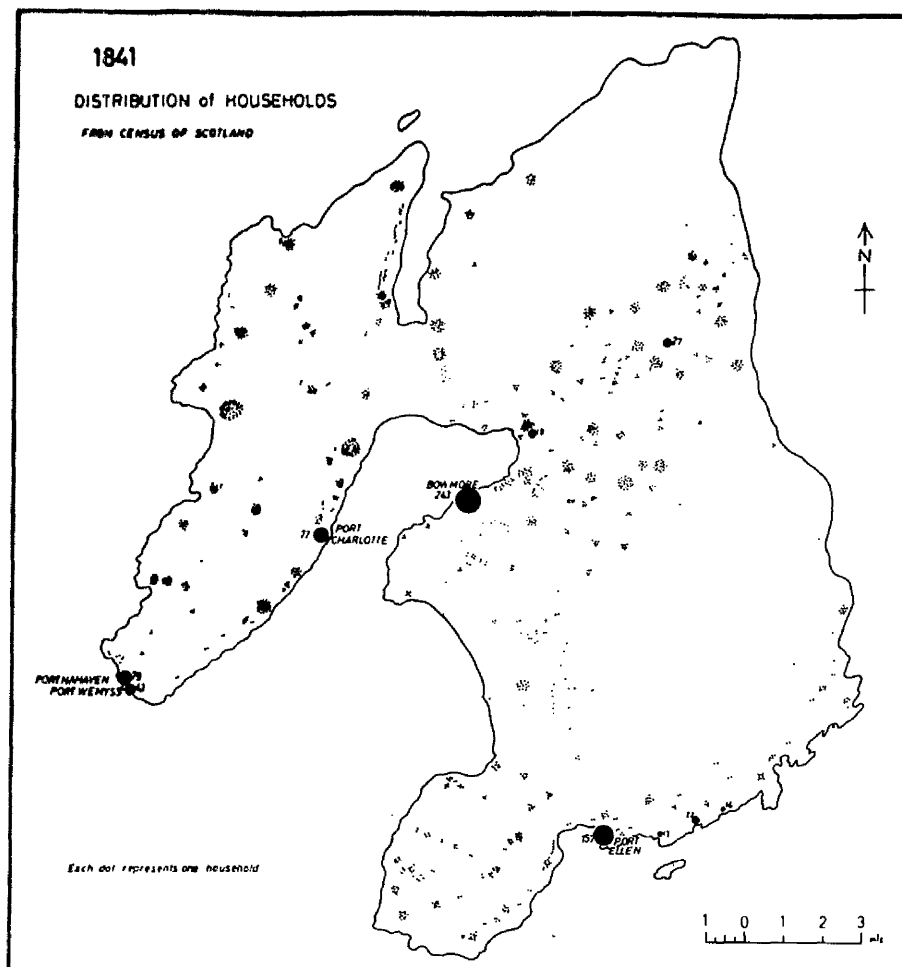


Figure 86a. Distribution of households in Islay in 1841.  
 86b. Distribution of households in Islay in 1861.

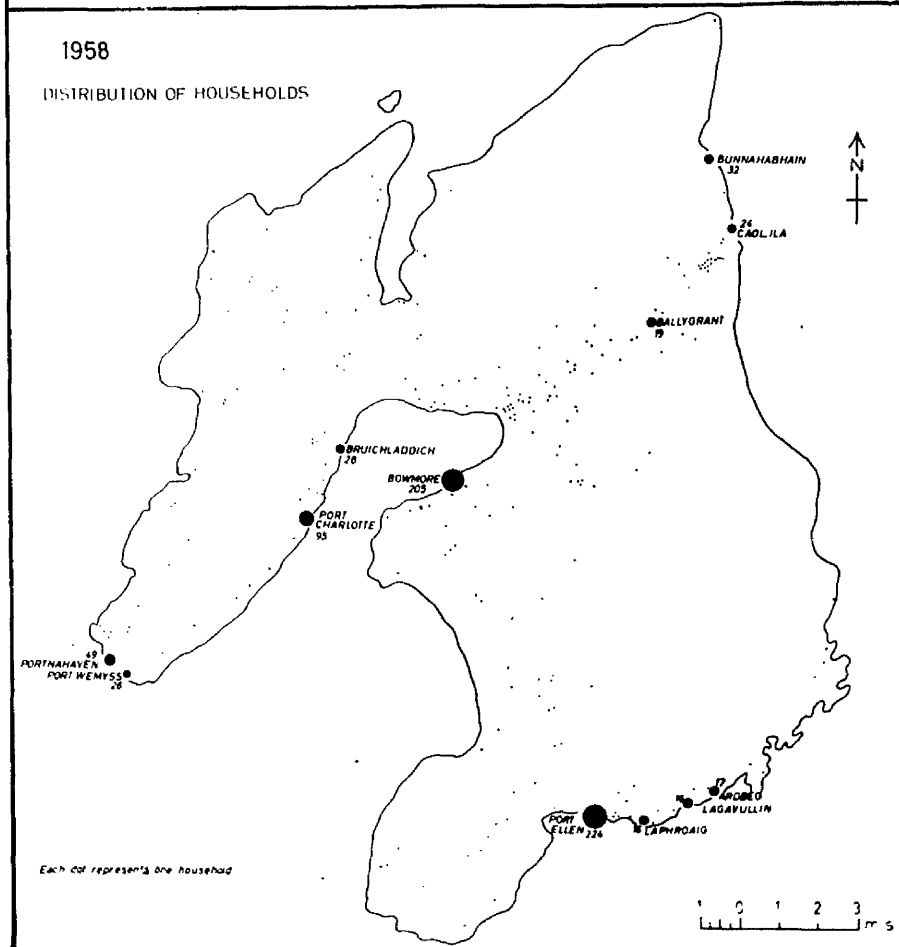
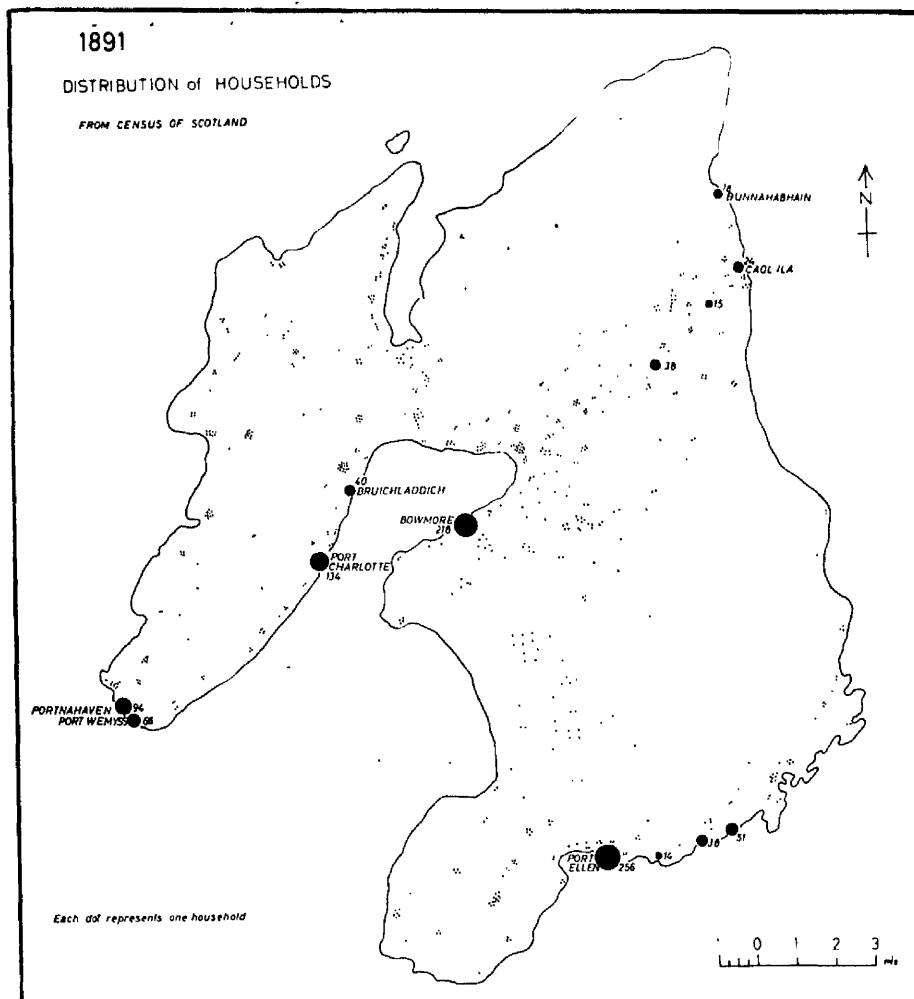


Figure 86c. Distribution of households in Islay, 1891.  
 86d. Distribution of households in Islay, 1958.

clustered form more typical of the original clachan, closer investigation more often than not reveals that the majority of the houses are unoccupied or ruinous, with only one or two occupied by the present few remaining tenants of the land, or by those with no attachment to the land at all. Figures 86a to 86d illustrate changing the distribution of households in Islay for the years 1841, 1861 and 1891, as well as for the present-day for comparison. The distributions are shown as accurately as is possible by using the groupings named in the Census. Subsequent refinements have been made by comparison with other maps, air photographs and study in the field. For instance, where the Census of 1841 shows a total of 18 households for Lurabus, field and map and air survey of this township reveals not one single cluster but several smaller ones along the marine bench of the southern side of the Oa peninsula. The original cluster (perhaps there might even have been more than one original clachan) may have become subdivided in the Eighteenth or early Nineteenth Century due to subdivision of the land with increasing population. The landlord's reorganisation of the township of settlement in the 1820's or 1830's was almost certainly followed by redistribution. By 1841 the settlement pattern was in the form of the small groups shown as ruins on six-inch maps of the 1880's and later (see figure 316) or in the air photographs of the present day. Figure 86a to 86c then are not completely accurate as regards distribution of settlement, but are as nearly so as is possible from the nature of the sources of information.

Figure 86a gives the distribution of households in Islay in 1841, and illustrates the continuously changing order from the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Century maximum distribution of clustered population. In 1841, there is still predominantly a clustered rural population, although



some secondary dispersal from the original clachans is seen to have taken place for instance along the west side of Loch Gruinard in the northern Rhinns, or in the peninsula of the Oa. On the other hand some of the clusters in 1841 are still seen to contain nearly 40 households (e.g. Conisby). The only truly dispersed settlements occur in a few single farms and in the muir reclamation areas east of Laggan Bay. By 1861, however, several changes have taken place. The numbers of households in the villages have increased without exception, whilst many of the rural clusters have dwindled in numbers of households, and an increase in the number and distribution of single small, medium and large-sized farms with single farm houses, has occurred. The dwindling in size of the clachans between 1841 and 1861 is especially noticeable in the Rhinns and the midland valley, which corresponds to the decreases of population earlier discussed, consequent upon agricultural reorganisation, enticement into villages, and emigration.

The decades immediately after 1861 wrought the almost complete and final change-over from grouped townships and small holdings to single farms. A comparison between figure 86b and figure 86c showing the distribution of settlement in 1861 and 1891, when further dwindling and decrease had taken place, emphasises this. Bormore showed a slight decrease in size, but the other villages maintained their size. The second feature is the remarkable decrease in size and contraction in distribution of clustered population. By 1891 the settlement pattern is predominantly a dispersed one except for a few of the original clachan sites in the northern Rhinns and in the Oa. Thirdly there has been a most noticeable retraction in the area settled, mainly in the interior valleys of the south-east hill mass and in the peninsula of the Oa. This again corresponds to the decreases in population already discussed, and to the final dwindling or clearance of townships.



Figure 87.a.

Occupied house in  
Tormisdale seen  
from ruined one.



Figure 87b.

Occupied and ruined  
houses and byre at  
Còille, Rhinns.



Figure 87c.

Ruins in the  
deserted clachan  
at Olistadh,  
Rhinns.





to form single farms in these two areas, especially after the 1860's.

The 1960 map (figure 86a) shows the virtual disappearance of the clustered form of occupied settlement and its replacement by a pattern of dispersed rural settlement, although in some cases this is slightly misleading. Where township or small holding organisation had lingered longest (for example in the Rhinns and the Ga) the single houses shown as occupied in figure 86a may, as earlier mentioned, be the only ones in a cluster of ruins that are still inhabited. The former clachans of Garnduncan or Formisdale for example illustrate this feature (see figure 87). The area of settlement has further contracted over the twentieth century whilst the villages have gained in relative amounts of population. Most rural settlement is now below 100 feet; only a few exceptions exceed 250 feet. A great many of the ruined sites of settlement in Islay which can be found at the present day are above 250 feet, as can be seen in figure 88.

This map in figure 88 is an attempt to construct a fairly complete map for the island in which the extent sites or traces of sites of many of the original clusters, some later partially fragmented, are shown. The map does not include the sites of clachans which have been obliterated by the construction of new farmhouses and buildings on the same site - many of which are in the area below the 250 foot contour. Nor does it show the ruined houses in villages although, as in the villages of Portnahaven and Port Wemyss these form a considerable proportion of the total houses standing (see figures 83a and 83b).

Figure 88 then is essentially concerned with the rural ruined settlements which are still visible in the landscape of the present day. It has been compiled from a study of air photographs, estate maps, Ordnance Survey Six Inch maps, supplemented by a study of estate rentals and fieldwork.

According to Fairhurst<sup>1</sup> on Scottish clachans,

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1. Fairhurst H., Scot.Geog.Mag. 1960 vol.76 No.2 p.67.

# ISLAY

## RUINED or ABANDONED SETTLEMENT

DEFINITE EVIDENCE

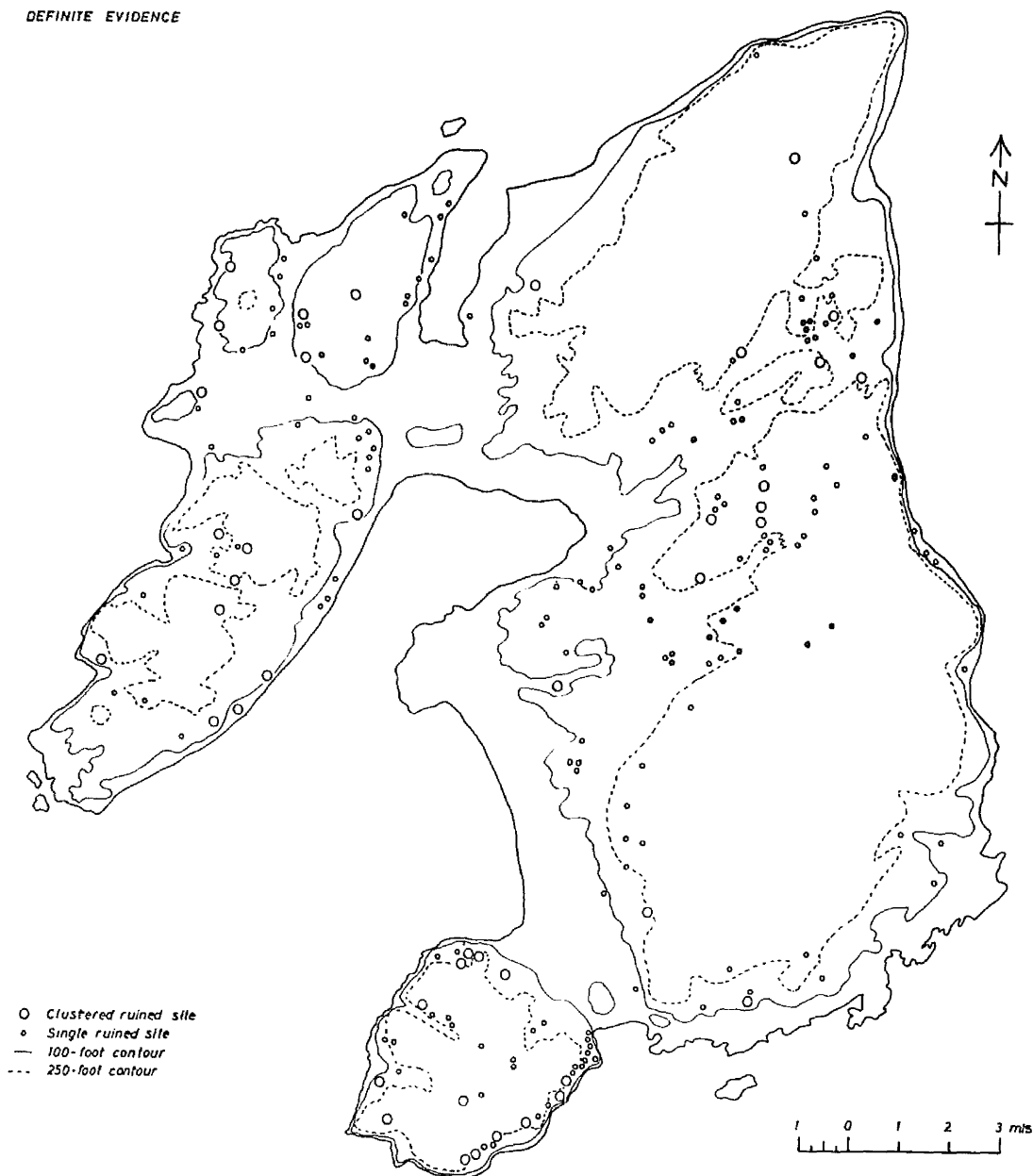


Figure 88. Unoccupied and ruined settlements in Islay in 1960. Note the concentrations in the Rhinns, the Oa, and in the interior of the N.E. and S.E. hill masses.

"Only a very small literature exists on the ruins themselves; generally they have been considered to be outside the scope of the inventories of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland". He adds: "What we now see only too often are the ruins of swollen clusters deserted almost immediately after a period of vigorous but unhealthy growth".

In the main, the sites of grouped ruins were abandoned between the 1830's and the late 1860's or early 1870's. Some of these, as in the Ga, had splintered into smaller groups or single settlements before then, and are shown in the map as single symbols. But more generally, the single ruins are those which have been abandoned after this period and often at a fairly recent date. The relative paucity of ruins along the edges of the south-eastern hill mass in Kildalton corresponds to the large grazing tacks and farms characteristic of that area throughout the whole period. On the other hand the large number of ruined sites in the central and northern Rhinns, the interior valleys of the south-eastern hill mass in Killarew and Kilmeny, and in the Ga, indicate the longer lingering of townships and clachans until they subsequently became abandoned after clearance or dwindling in numbers of tenants.

#### Changes in numbers of people per household.

Before leaving this aspect of changing numbers and distribution of population and settlement in Islay, especially over the nineteenth century, a brief study will be made of one of the other factors which have contributed to these changes, the average number of people per household. A general decrease in numbers of people per household took place after the

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1. Fairhurst H. Ibid, p.72.

maximum of population and overcrowding of houses which occurred in the first thirty years or so of the nineteenth century in Islay. A similar feature occurred earlier in the rural areas of mainland Scotland, and later in the Outer Hebrides where population maxima in fishing districts, did not occur until nearer the end of the century or even the start of the present one. Table 17 provides a more detailed study for Islay of the changing in numbers of people per household in the rural areas and in the villages between 1841 and 1891, as compared with the present day.

<u>RURAL AREAS</u>	<u>1841</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1958</u>
Bowmore	5.8	5.1	5.2	3.0
Kilmeny	5.2	4.5	4.5	2.0
Rhinns	5.7	7.3	5.5	3.1
Kildalton	7.3	6.2	4.9	2.5
Oa	5.4	5.4	4.7	2.9
<u>Villages</u>				
Bowmore	4.8	3.8	3.8	2.8
Port Ellen	5.0	4.7	3.4	2.8
Port Charlotte	5.8	4.2	4.0	2.7
Portnahaven	5.2	4.9	3.7	1.7
Port Wemyss	5.2	4.6	4.2	1.8
Kildalton Villages	6.7	4.6	5.8	3.1
Keills & Ballygrant	5.0	4.2	3.2	2.2
Bunnahabhain & Caol Ila	-	-	4.3	3.4

Table 17. Average numbers of people per household in Islay in 1841, 1861, 1891 and 1958.

As on the mainland numbers per household have always been greater in the rural areas than in the villages, but it is in the latter that the greatest absolute differences have occurred since 1841. This is consequent upon the decreasing need for craftsmen and those providing services for the declining rural population.

### 3. Changes in occupation structure.

The unspecialised occupations of the early eighteenth century in Islay were becoming more specialised and more varied by the third quarter of the century. As well as agriculturalists, tenants, subtenants and cottars, there were agricultural day-labourers and craftsmen living in the townships and in the newly-established village of Bownmore. There were in addition the agricultural craftsmen, cartwrights, masons, quarriers, weavers (of linen from locally grown flax, and of wool) ; distillers and merchants. By the early nineteenth century to this list had been added full-time fishermen, lead-miners, kelp-manufacturers, professional teachers, ministers, doctors and nurses. By then also, the primary agricultural population had become more specialised - farmers, small tenants, crofters and cottars were accompanied by shepherds, ploughmen, dairymen and so on.

From the 1841 Census of Scotland onwards until 1891 detailed occupation structures for men of working age in the rural areas and in the villages of Islay have been studied from abstracted information and the diagrams in figures 89 to 91 constructed. As has been noted in Appendix 7, and as has been discussed at greater length by Sheppard<sup>1</sup>, fully accurate classification of occupations into exclusive categories is not possible owing to variations in nomenclature of occupations in successive censuses. Bearing this qualification in mind, three broad categories of occupation have been used for the present purpose.

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1. Sheppard, J. "East Yorkshire's Agricultural Labour Force in the mid-nineteenth century". Agric. Hist. Rev. 1961, Vol. IX, pt. 1, p. 44.

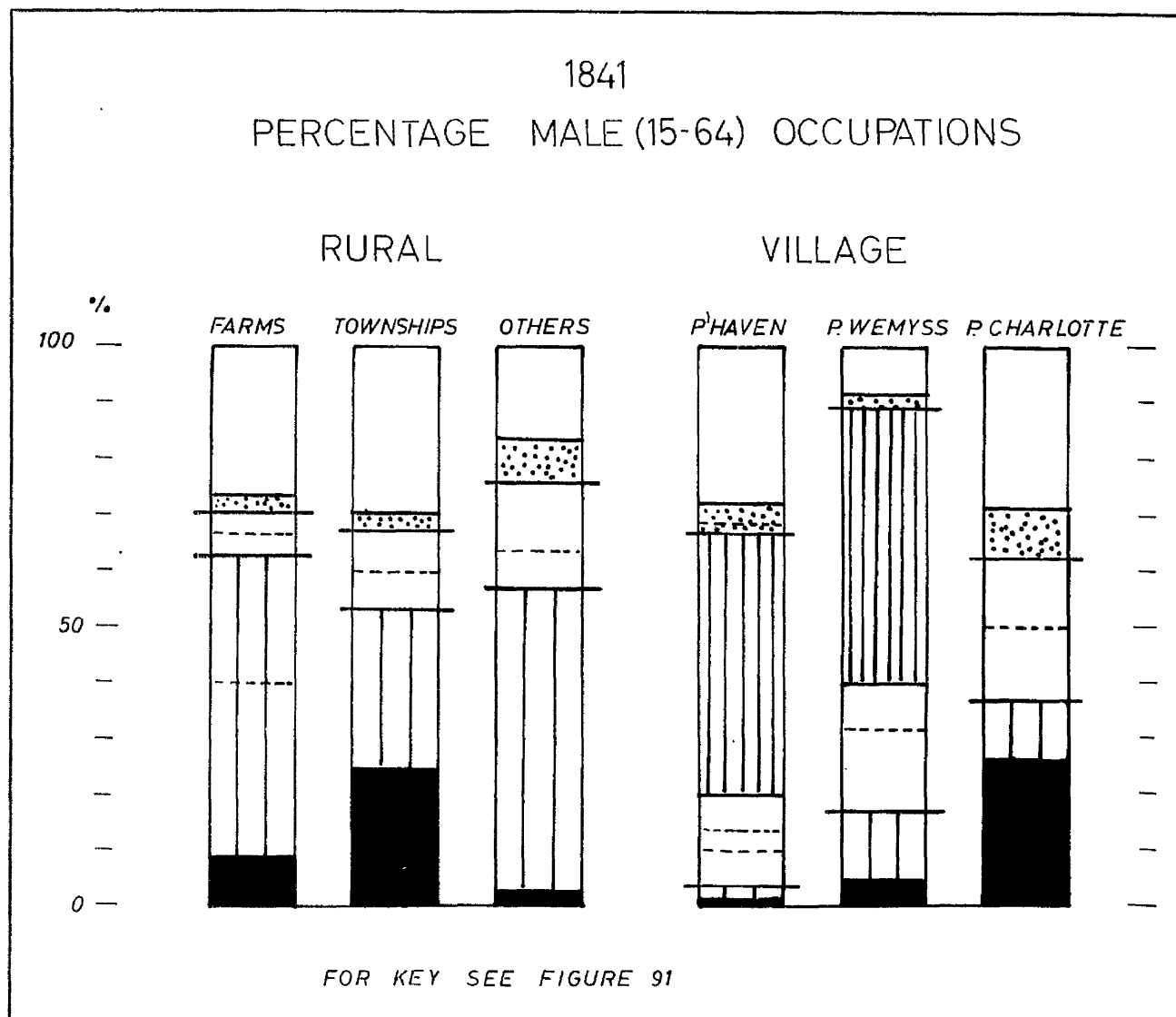


Figure 89. Occupations of males between 15 and 64 years of age in the farms, townships, other rural areas, and in the villages in the Rhinns, Islay, 1841.



These are :

1. The primary population comprising
  - a. land tenants ('farmers' and 'crofters')
  - b. farmworkers, farm servants, estate workers and labourers
2. The secondary population of
  - a. the craftsmen. 'Heavy' craftsman include quarriers, millers, joiners, plumbers etc. 'Light' craftsmen include tailors, shoemakers, weavers etc.
  - b. the non-agricultural workers such as fishers, seamen and the distillery hands.
3. The tertiary population providing other services for the primary and secondary workers. These include merchants, professional people, clerks, excisemen and other government employees.

As is to be expected in a rural area the greater proportion of male occupations for all the years considered is in the primary agricultural category, although the internal structures of occupations within this broad group show considerable changes through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The differences in agricultural structures between the farms, the townships and the non-landholding settlements in the rural areas of the Rhinns in 1841 is shown in figure 89. In this area, the small proportion of farmers and craftsmen on the farms and the larger numbers of farmworkers contrasts with the almost equal numbers of farmers and paid workers in the townships. Whereas, at that time farmworkers and numerous craftsmen characterise the non-landholding areas of the Rhinns. A similar picture obtains for 1861, but by 1891 the differences in the settlements of the rural area were slight, since most/farms with associated settlements of farm-workers, and there were only a few townships left in the northern part of the peninsula - these were in effect small farms, and the occupation structures were similar to the farms.

Figures 90 and 91a illustrate the generally decreasing numbers of direct tenant farmers as the century progressed, with the gradual dwindling in numbers of small tenants before clearance or dwindling to single farms. In the rural part of Kildalton however (figure 91b) the number of farmers remained fairly/stable in the nineteenth century - related to the evolution of landholdings earlier discussed. This was an area of few small tenants, and consisted mainly

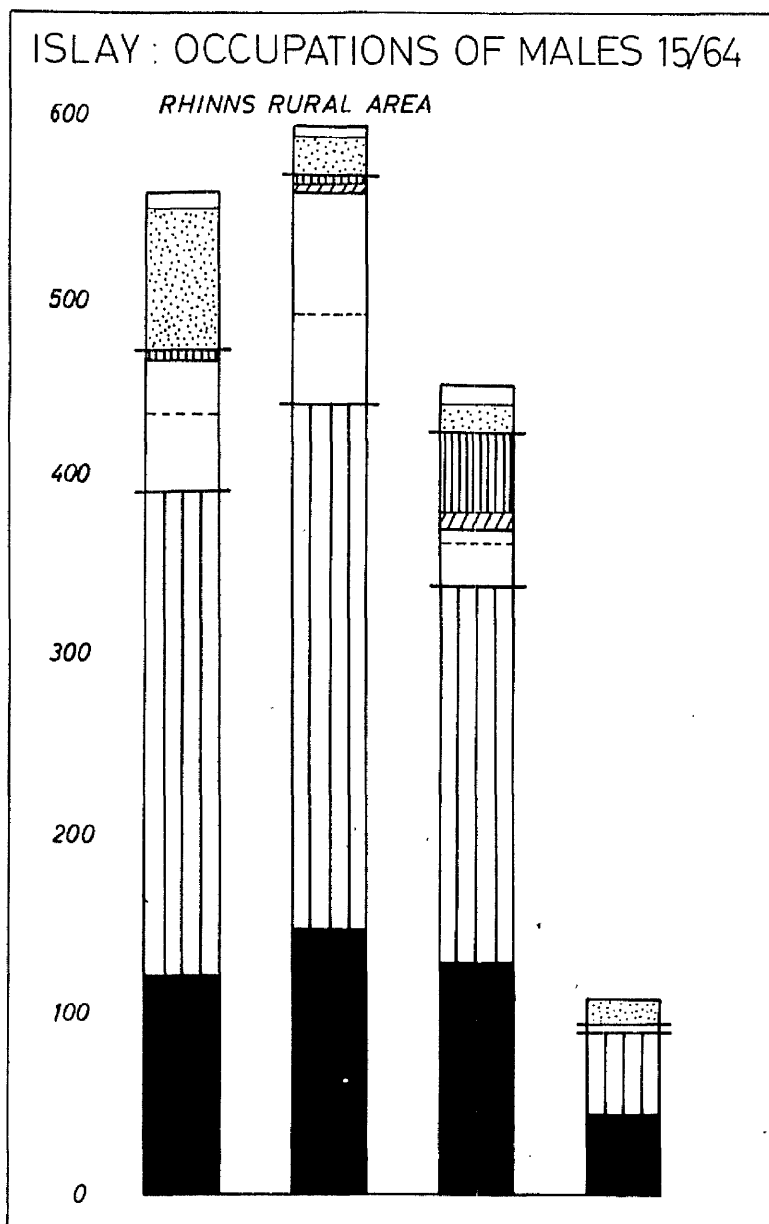


Figure 90. Occupations of males between 15 and 64 years of age in the Rhinns Rural area of Islay, 1841, 1861, 1891 and 1958.

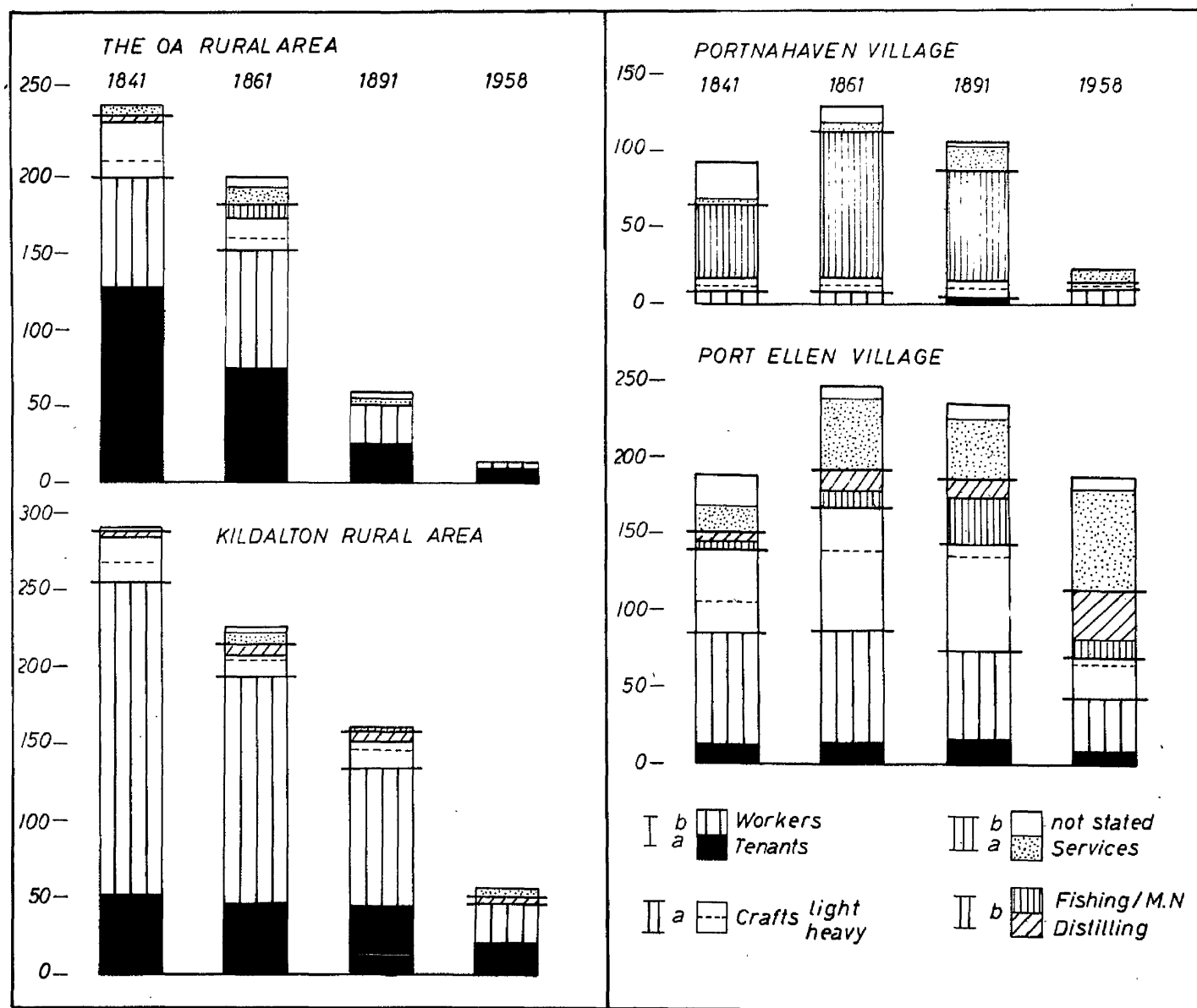


Figure 91. Occupations of males between 15 and 64 in selected rural and village areas of Islay in 1841, 1861, 1891 and 1958.

- 91a. The Oa rural area.
- 91b. Kildalton Rural area.
- 91c. Portnahaven village.
- 91d. Port Ellen village.

of medium to large-sized farms, each with a single tenant. Only in the twentieth century has amalgamation of the single farms taken place to any considerable extent, frequently involving the replacement of the farmer by a farm-manager, who for the purposes of classification has been included in the category of farm or estate worker.

In all the rural areas however, at each period, the numbers of agricultural workers exceeded the numbers of direct farmers throughout the nineteenth century, and it is not until the third revolution of the present century, that of mechanisation of agriculture, that the numbers of farm and estate workers have been considerably reduced. Now the proportions between farmers and farm-workers is about equal except in the midland valley. There many of the farms are not tenanted, but occupied by a manager for the major estate in the island. Many of the effective farmers are in fact included in the category of farm worker.

In the rural areas, the only other/<sup>main</sup>source of employment was in the secondary category of crafts. The numbers of 'heavy' craftsmen remained fairly constant throughout the nineteenth century after which the age of mechanisation was introduced, and here, as elsewhere in the rural areas of Britain,<sup>1</sup> fewer of the secondary crafts were required. The light crafts, however, declined in numbers more quickly as increased merchandising facilities and improved communication with the industrial centres of the Lowlands meant that there was no longer the need or desire to manufacture and tailor locally, wearing apparel which could be bought more easily and often more cheaply from the mainland. The remaining categories of occupations in the rural areas have always been poorly represented - only a few secondary fishers, distillers, and those providing the tertiary services, mainly merchants. Their overall relative importance in the rural areas however has increased.

In the villages the patterns of occupation structure are rather different and more varied. In all the non-fishing villages the primary population has declined both absolutely and relatively, whilst the secondary industrial and tertiary services populations have increased, both absolutely and relatively.

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1. See Saviile, J. Rural Depopulation in England and Wales, Chap. IV.

This is well illustrated in the two largest villages of Bowmore and Port Ellen. Whereas in Bowmore in 1841, four-fifths of the male population of working age was engaged in agriculture, the crafts, or fishing, a proportion which declined only slightly as the century progressed, at the present day well over half of the men are in whisky distilleries<sup>1</sup> and the services. Port Ellen (figure 91d) in addition to these services as the home port of the crew of the island's daily steamer. The village of Port Charlotte retains more of the original purpose in having a larger proportion of farm-workers. But still the tertiary services population has become the most important single facet of the occupational structure. The decline in total population and working population in Port Charlotte has been more considerable than in either Bowmore, or especially in Port Ellen, with increasing remoteness in the twentieth century.

The erstwhile fishing villages of Portnahaven (figure 91c) and Port Wemyss emphasise this increasing isolation and today show patterns very different from Bowmore and Port Ellen. There has been a very much greater total decline in occupational variety and availability, corresponding to the total eclipse of the fishing industry in the twentieth century<sup>2</sup>, and the failure to replace this non-agricultural source of employment with any other.

The remaining fair-sized villages in Islay present an aspect quite atypical of the West Highland seaboard. They comprise the industrial whisky distilling villages of the Kildalton coast, and of the north-east coast, and consist mainly of workers in, and associated with, the distilleries, accompanied by a few agricultural workers employed on the farms in the surrounding rural areas. The few remaining small services centres around the island are not now important in the occupational structure of the island's villages since their eighteenth and nineteenth century lead-mining<sup>3</sup> and linen-weaving occupations have disappeared.

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1. See footnote at end of chapter referring to whisky distilling in Islay.

2. See footnote at end of chapter referring to fishing industry in Islay.

3. See footnote at end of chapter referring to mining in Islay.

With reference to the occupations of women in the island, the nineteenth century was far more important than the present day, although even then only a small proportion of the total number of women of working age were actually paid workers. Women in paid employment were essentially connected with the house or the land, being domestic and nurse maids, seamstresses and weavers or teachers; or dairymaids or field and general agricultural workers. There were in addition merchants, postwomen, and the occasional nurse or midwife. In the twentieth century many of these occupations have become redundant with smaller families and with mechanisation of agriculture together with the generally improved standards of living and status of women. Apart from domestic work, which is the main source of female employment, there are only the alternatives of clerical work, professional work or shop-keeping. The repercussions of this lack of employment opportunity for women, more pronounced than for men, will be discussed later with reference to age structures and viability of the island's communities. It has become the more serious in the twentieth century as more and more women, single and married, would like employment such as is available to their counterparts on the mainland in the towns and cities.

Apart from the distribution and occupation of the population three other aspects can be studied from the material contained in the Census schedules. Each further emphasises the evolution from the characteristic West Highland Population structure of the eighteenth century to the twentieth century aspect more characteristic of the lowlands. These three features are the age and sex ratios of the population; the birth-places of the residents; and the proportion of them who were and are Gaelic-speaking.

#### 4. Age structures, sex ratios, birth places and Gaelic-speaking patterns.

Of these the first is by far the most important reflection of the various changes in land tenure and holdings; of the numbers and sizes and land utilisation of the holdings; of the ability of the island to support its population, agricultural and non-agricultural; of its relatively lesser degree of physical and social isolation, and hence greater degree of emigration to the Lowlands of Scotland and beyond; of marriage and celibacy

# ISLAY : RURAL AREAS

AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF POPULATION 1841 TO PRESENT-DAY

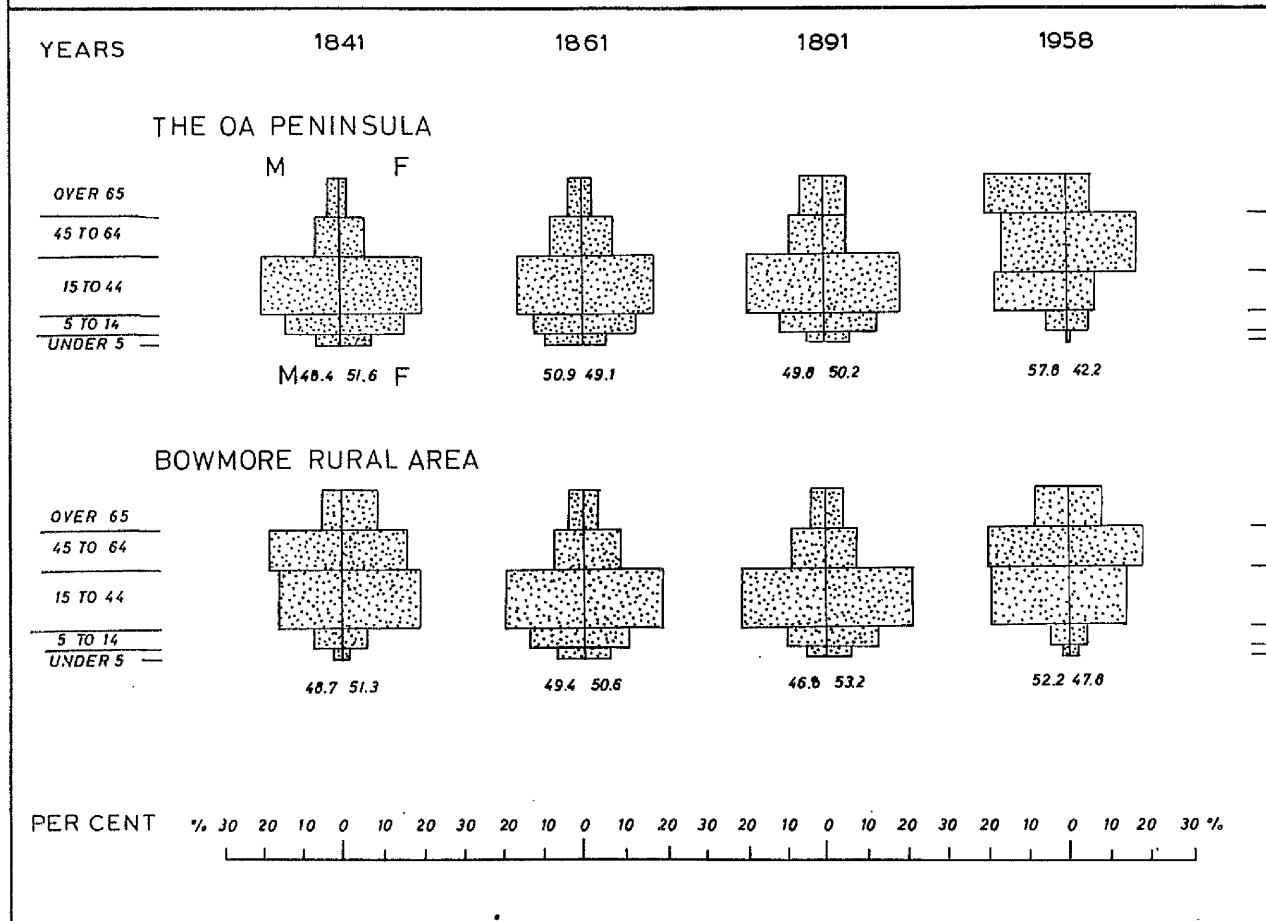


Figure 92. Proportional age structures and sex ratios in selected rural areas of Islay from the Census of Scotland enumeration schedules for 1841, 1861, 1891 and from the writer's census for 1958. Changes in shape are discussed in the text.

92a. The rural area of the Oa peninsula.

92b. The rural area around the village of Bowmore.

# ISLAY VILLAGES

AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF POPULATION 1841 TO PRESENT-DAY

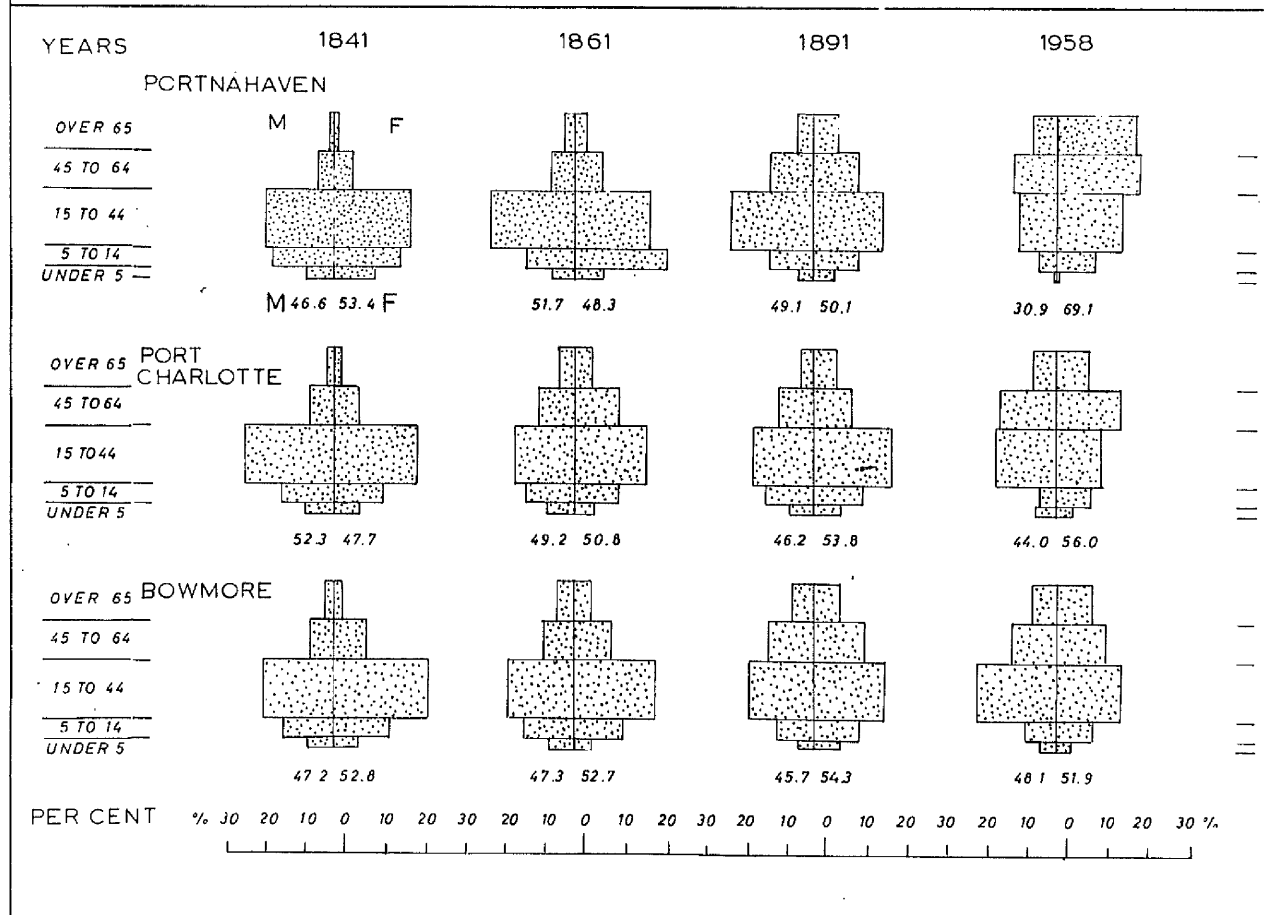


Figure 92. Proportional age structures and sex ratios in selected villages of Islay from 1841 to 1958.

- 92c. The village of Portnahaven
- 92d. The village of Port Charlotte
- 92e. The village of Bowmore.



ratios. These factors in turn have been, and are affected by, the age structures of the various rural and urban communities at different times. For instance increasing land subdivision, though illegal, decreased the age of marriage and increased the size of the population. At first agricultural and non-agricultural employment and settlement absorbed the increase. But later emigration began, at first seasonally, then semi-permanently, then finally permanently. This in turn upset the balance of ages, especially with reference to the proportion of people of working age, as well as the sex ratios. It is worth noting that this unbalance was very much less severe in Islay than in most parts of the Western Highlands and Islands since it was more characteristic for entire families rather than individuals to emigrate - due to the relatively easy access to the Lowlands. In the twentieth century the unpublished volumes of the Census from 1841 to 1891 illustrate the difference between rural and village areas from 1841 to the end of the century.

The proportional population pyramids for 1841, 1861, 1891 and 1958 referring to specific rural and village areas in Islay are shown in figures 92a to 92c. Two main aspects are discussed for the periods named, the proportional age structures and the changing ratios of males and females. The greatest degree of unbalance is to be seen in the present-day rural areas, and more especially in the dying villages of Port Wemyss and Portnahaven. In the rural areas, apart from the Oa (figure 92a) which shows excessive unbalance of old to young people, and of men to women, the other areas (for example the Bowmore rural area, figure 92b) show the feature of reversal of the 1841 shape of pyramid gradually progressing through time until now people of non-family rearing age are beginning to predominate. But at least the balance between males and females is not too extreme one way or the other, except that there is usually a surplus of males over females of working age. This is characteristic of most rural areas of the United Kingdom where female employment is difficult to obtain. The more alarming feature for the future population of the island is the low percentage of population in the categories under 15 years of age, especially if no additional female employment is available.

In the villages of Portmahaven (figure 92c) and Port Wemyss there has been a complete reversal of shape until in 1958 a preponderance of old rather than young people is shown. But more important in every age category females outnumber males. The village of Port Charlotte (figure 92b) has a fairly similar unbalance of old and young, and of men to women, and it is only in the village of Bowmore (figure 92e) the major centre of the island, that the ratios anywhere approach the national figures. In Scotland in 1951<sup>1</sup> the percentages of people between 0 and 14, 15 and 64, and over 65 were 25, 65 and 10 respectively. For Islay in 1958 the corresponding percentages were 21, 62 and 17.

#### Changing places of birth and numbers of Gaelic-speakers

There were only sporadic incomers to the island throughout the nineteenth century, although there have been rather greater numbers in the present century. Apart from young children born outside the island in the nineteenth century, the only others who were not native were the professional people (almost all non-local), merchants and excisemen, some grieves and shepherds, a few Irish labourers or fishermen and the wives of some of the above. By 1891 an increasing number of confinements took place on the mainland, after which the mother and newborn returned to the island. This increased the non-native born population. But by far the greatest increase in immigrants came in the last quarter of the century and during the twentieth century, when more people from the mainland settled on the farms and in the villages. These trends have resulted in the decline of the Gaelic-speaking population<sup>1</sup> in the island, especially amongst the young people. Gaelic is still the spoken language of many of the older people of the farms and villages especially in the remoter areas such as the northern Rhinnns, where in 1951<sup>2</sup> 77% of the population spoke Gaelic (in Kildalton parish 67.5, and in Killarow

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For a more detailed discussion see:

1. MacSween, M.D. The Retreat of Gaelic, *Dumlin* (Magazine of Glasgow University Geographical Society) January 1959 p.20.
2. Census of Scotland 1951; Vol I Part 7 Argyll Table 17 p.31.

65.5%). Though this is a much smaller proportion than at earlier times it was still very much greater than in the county of Argyll as a whole. The average there was 20%. On the other hand the proportion is much lower than for most of the Western Highlands and Islands. This indicates the lesser degree of social isolation of Islay than of most of the region.

At the present day, as in the past, the island is relatively closer to the Lowlands in terms of population movements as well as in terms of introduction of ideas. The daily journey from Glasgow, the main centre of dispersal of goods and services, to the ports in Islay takes just over eight hours by rail and sea, with perhaps up to an hour's bus journey on the island itself. The maximum cost, second class, is about thirty shillings. From Glasgow to Sunart, by rail to Fort William, and bus thence to Ardgour Ferry at the mouth of Loch Linne, and bus through Ardgour to Sunart, the actual journey takes the same length of time, but the total length of time spent travelling is considerably greater when allowance is made for breaks of journey. The cost is higher by more than one-third. West of Salen in the centre of the peninsula, the frequency of the service deteriorates from a daily one in either direction to a daily one in one single direction. An alternative route for travellers to Kilchoan and the rest of the western end of the peninsula is from Glasgow to Oban by rail; steamer to Tobermory on the island of Mull; and thence by ferry to Kilchoan. By approaching the mainland peninsula from an island, length of time and cost of travelling are high, and degree of isolation is very much more considerable than for the island of Islay.

Moreover, the island has the advantage of a once-daily plane from Glasgow in winter (several per day in summer). Only with improvements in roads and ferries will the peninsularity of Ardnamurchan and Sunart be more advantageous than the insularity of Islay. At present the greater degree of remoteness of the peninsula is no less striking than it was in previous centuries. The island's greater proximity to the Lowlands has resulted in more favourable agricultural, industrial and population patterns as have been discussed. It is the purpose of Chapter 12 to study the relative disadvantages which peninsularity has entailed for Ardnamurchan-Sunart.



Figure 93a.

Peat cuttings at  
Bunnahabhain,  
Islay. Peat for  
use in distillery.



Figure 93b.

Peats loading for  
removal to  
distillery.



Figure 93c.

The distillery  
premises and houses  
of workers at  
Bunnahabhain, Islay.





Footnote on the industries of distilling, fishing and mining in Islay from the eighteenth century.

Distilling in Islay.

Many eighteenth and early nineteenth century accounts make constant reference to the undesirability of so much barley being used in distilleries in the island. Whisky distilleries are mentioned several times by Smith<sup>1</sup>, in the Stent Book<sup>2</sup>, and in local estate papers of the early nineteenth century. But it is not until 1833<sup>3</sup> that an official list of distilleries is given for Islay. These were Lossett, Newton, Bowmore, Tallant, Mulindry, Octomore, two at Lagavulline, one each at Port Ellen, Laphroaig, Port Charlotte, Ardbeg and Daill. In addition there were many 'moonlight' or illicit distilleries. The official correspondence of the Customs and Excise Officers<sup>4</sup> during the period from the late 1830's onwards contains many references to the seizure of 'malt' and of apparatus, as well as to the confiscation of illicit whisky in the hands of smugglers. Gradually, with the lowering of licensing fees and the raising of smuggling fines, illicit distilling ceased as the century progressed.

As early as the nineteenth century barley for whisky distillation was imported from nearby Kintyre and from Ireland, as local grain was not sufficient. Today most of the grain comes from the north-east and east Lowlands of Scotland, and from east England; and a small proportion is imported Australian barley. The methods of production are almost exactly the same as in earlier days. Barley is soaked in water which has flowed through peat and it later spread out to germinate. Growth is stopped at a particular stage by drying the grain in kilns through which peaty fumes permeate. After re-soaking in water, and the later addition of yeast, the maltose liquid is finally distilled to produce whisky or impure ethyl alcohol. It is exported in barrels by ship to Glasgow and other parts of the United Kingdom for blending with whiskies from other distilleries before sale and/or export.

Each distillery on the island provides employment directly for between twenty and thirty men. But in addition local contractors and craftsmen are also required. Almost every village of any size in the island at the present day has a distillery as its main source of industrial occupation. Exceptions are the small services centres of Keills and Ballygrant; the village of Port Charlotte where part of the distillery premises are now used as bonded stores, and the remainder converted for use as the island's creamery; and the erstwhile fishing villages.

Along the entire west Highland seaboard of Scotland, there are now distilleries only at Fort William (2) Oban (1) Skye (1) Ardrishaig (1) and Campbeltown (2). One is being rebuilt in Jura. These numbers are very much reduced even from the end of the last century (5).

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- (1) Smith, G.G. The Book of Islay.
  - (2) The Stent Book and Acts of the Balliary of Islay 1718 - 1843.
  - (3) Seventh Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Excise (British Spirits) 1834 (7) XXVI, and 1835 (8) XXX, 33.
  - (4) Official correspondence between Officers of H.M. Customs and Excise and the Crown. In custody of H.M. Customs & Excise, Port Ellen, Islay.
  - (5) See for example, the comprehensive study of distilling by A. Barnard - The Whisky Distilleries of the United Kingdom 1887.



	<u>1891</u>		<u>1901</u>	
	No. of boats	No. of Men.	No. of boats.	Men.
Port Wemyss	50	108	}	106
Portnahaven	82	214		
Port Charlotte	20	39	9	10
Bowmore	22	41	8	20
Port Ellen	7	19	8	15
Port Askaig	8	21	10	15
Lochgruinard	10	26	8	15
Bruichladdich	-	-	8	6

Table 18. Number of boats and men engaged in the resuscitated fishing industry in Islay in the late nineteenth century.

The nine distilleries of Islay then appear anomalous. The quality of the island's whisky has remained in favour for blending purposes as the twentieth century has progressed, whilst that of Campbeltown for instance, being much heavier to taste, is not so much in demand for the lighter blends of Whisky. Whisky distilling, like Harris Tweed, provides a most important source of non-agricultural occupation in economically marginal areas. Distilling occupied 17 per cent of the male occupation force of Islay in 1958, as compared to 39.5 per cent engaged in agriculture. Were it to fail for lack of demand overseas or heavier taxation at home, depopulation of the villages and rural areas of the island would advance much more rapidly than at present if no alternative source of employment were introduced.

### Fishing in Islay.

Likewise reference to fishing was always made by eighteenth and nineteenth century writers. The Promoter of the Society for the Establishment of the Northern Fisheries of Scotland cited Islay as an example of an area in which non-agricultural villages were being established in the early nineteenth century by proprietors solely to pursue fishing. Next long after Portnahaven, Port Wemyss, Port Charlotte and Port Ellen had been set up in the 1820's and 1830's to pursue line-fishing of cod, ling and others for export to nearby Ireland, the numbers in fishing declined in importance as fish became more difficult to trace. There was a slight resuscitation of the main fishing villages towards the end of the century when herring fishing became important, and there were 200 boats engaged in fishing in Islay in 1891 (1). But even then the herring stations and ports were declining and only lobsters showed increased catches. World War 1 interrupted herring markets in Germany and eastern Europe and by 1921 only 50 boats were registered as fishing from Islay (2). The later 1920's and 1930's saw the disappearance of the main herring shoals. Now there is only the occasional local lobster-fisherman in one of the villages, and the occasional visiting non-local or foreign fishing vessel. Fish for local consumption is imported by ship or plane from the Clyde.

### Mining in Islay.

The mining of lead and other minerals occurring in the Dalradian limestones in Islay was well documented from the seventeenth century onwards. According to Smith (3) there were eight different lead mines open in Islay in 1770 - all were around Ballygrant. They were at Mulrees, Bellegrand, Portnealan, Gartness, Kilsleven, Shengart, South Ardachie and North Ardachie. Smith gives an account of the Mining Schemes on the island from 1720 onwards and recounts the frequent changing of hands of the mines. In the earlier years they were leased by Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope who owned those Ardnamurchan-Sunart. But later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they fell into the hands of successive English mining companies. These latter introduced their own workers, teachers and parsons into the island, and today several English surnames survive in the Ballygrant region. The richest ores became worked out as the nineteenth century progressed, and working ceased during the 1860's. The only real evidence of the former importance of mining in Islay, as at the head of the Strontian valley in Sunart, takes the form of tip heaps and ruined shafts.

1. Fisheries Board Reports, Tenth Report 1891 Part. I, p. 35.
2. Fisheries Board Reports, Fortieth Report 1921, Part. I. Table 14.
3. Smith, G.G. The Book of Islay, p. 456.

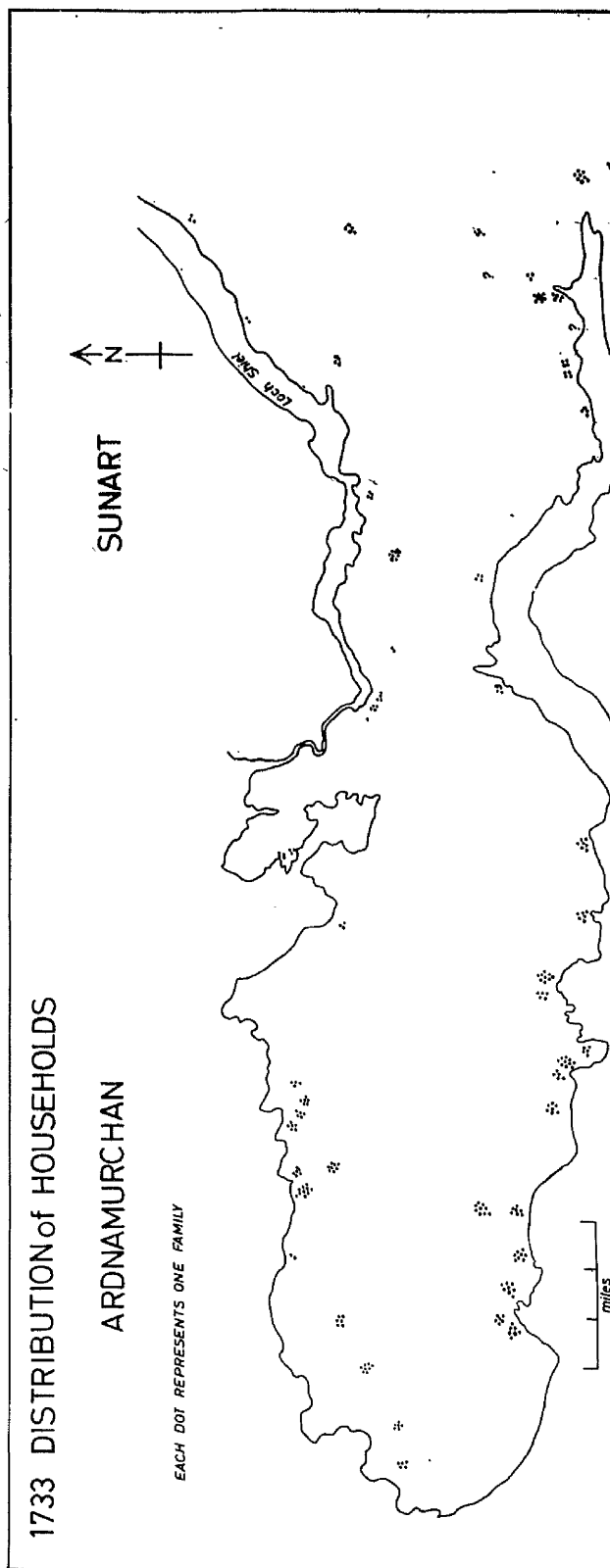
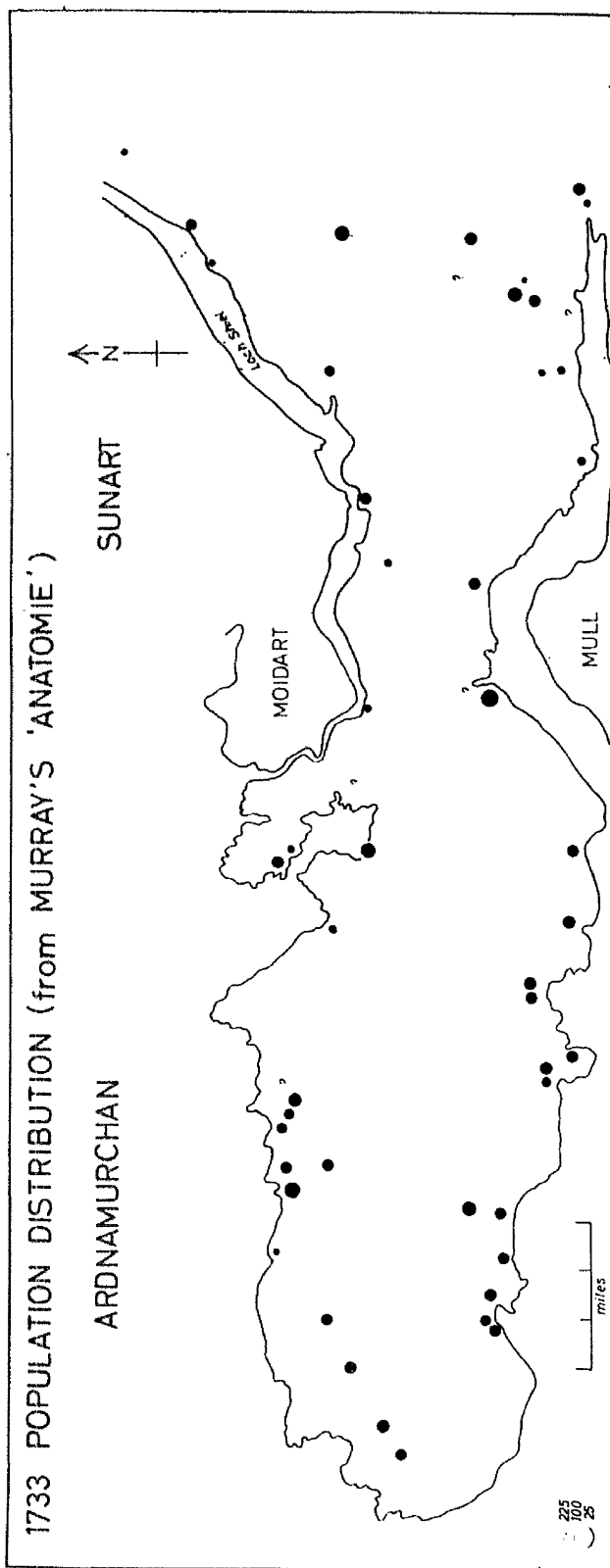


Figure 94. Population groupings and distribuion of families in Ardnamurchan-Sunart in 1733. (after Murray).



CHAPTER 12. POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT IN ARDNAMURCHAN AND SUNART  
FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The first detailed published reference to settlement and population in Ardnamurchan-Sunart was at the hands of Sir Alexander Murray<sup>1</sup>. From his work the maps showing distribution of population groupings and numbers of families in the peninsula in 1733 have been constructed, and are given in figures 94a and 94b. The population groups are essentially small in size and are peripherally distributed. The settlements were almost entirely clustered amorphous clachans at the time.

A study has been made by Gailey<sup>2</sup> of the mid-eighteenth century distribution of settlement as depicted by Roy<sup>3</sup>. Little change from Murray's time is indicated. The distribution of settlement on Bald's map of the peninsula in 1807 is similar to that of 1733 or of the 1750's, but individual clachans are more densely occupied, as is borne out by comments in the accompanying Report of Alexander Low<sup>4</sup>. From the published volumes of the Census of Scotland from 1801 onwards, the population of the peninsula is seen to have increased almost until 1851 (figure 80) despite clearances and emigration. But unlike much of the West Highlands seaboard<sup>5</sup>, the increase was not so great absolutely or relatively even in comparison to either of the Islay parishes of Killarow or Kilchoman. Instead it was more like the Kildalton parish which comprised large tacks in the Kildalton area, and multiple tenancies in the Oa peninsula. This corresponded roughly to Sunart and Ardnamurchan.

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1. Murray, Sir Alexander. Anatomy of the Barony of Ardnamurchan and Sunart, 1740.

2. Gailey, R.A. Settlement Changes in the South-West Highlands of Scotland, 1700 to 1960. Ph.D. Thesis, Glasgow, 1961. Appendix 1.

3. General Roy. Military Survey of Scotland.

4. Low, Alexander. Valuation and Report accompanying Bald's Map of Sunart, 1807 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

5. For details, see Darling, F.F. West Highland Survey, 1955, Section III.

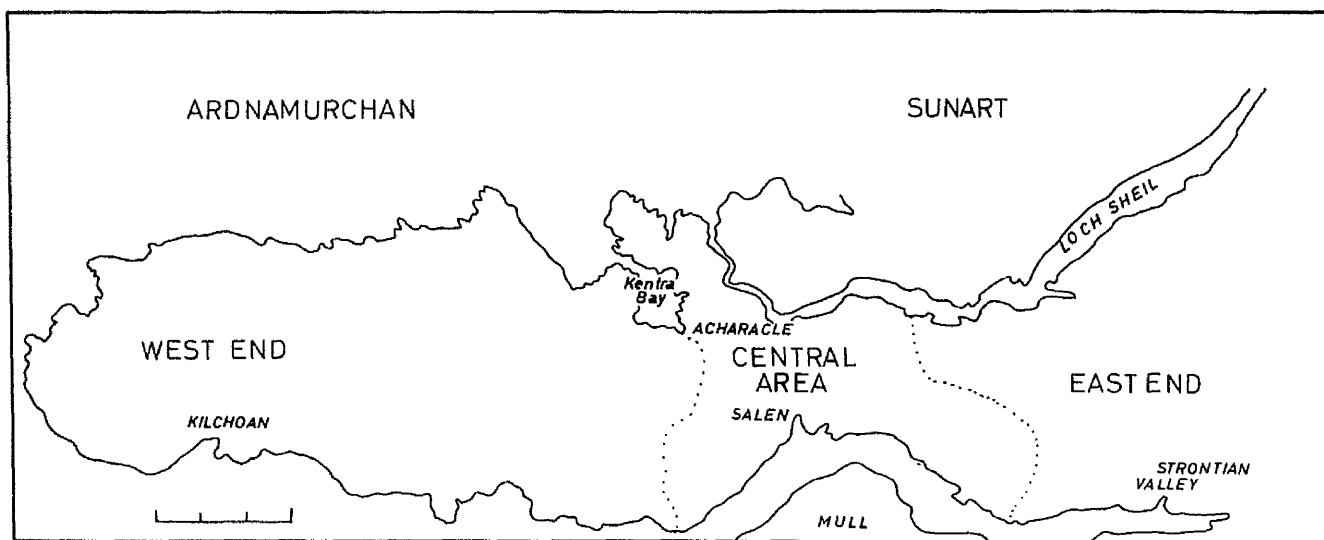


Figure 95. Location of regions to which reference is made in chapter 12 on Ardnamurchan and Sunart.

This lesser rate of increase is borne out in figure 81 in which percentage decennial population changes can be studied. The rate of increase up to 1831 for the peninsula was considerably less than for any part of Islay, partly due to the relatively more important grazing farms and generally less favourable natural and improved environment. Kelp manufacture though more important in the peninsula than in Islay, still did not reach the degree of importance that it did in the Outer Hebrides.

After 1831, population in the peninsula declined also at a less rapid rate. This was partly due to retention of a greater population in the west, and to the importance of lead-mining in the east, at the head of the Strontian valley. Towards the end of the century, numbers employed in lead-mining declined, and total decrease followed. As the twentieth century has progressed, the relatively unsatisfactory organisation of the land and the general lack of non-agricultural employment have resulted in further decline, especially in the west end. In the central and eastern areas this has partly been offset by the development of the area by the Forestry Commission, which has arrested the decline of people of working age.

These trends however, can be studied more fully by a discussion of the results of a study of the unpublished census enumeration schedules from 1841 to 1891. Again, comparison is made with the present day, using the results of the writer's enumeration of population in Ardnamurchan-Smart in 1959.

Changes in the settlement, population and occupation patterns of the Ardnamurchan-Smart peninsula are discussed under the same four headings as for Islay in the last chapter. This is done for ease of comparison and contrast, but more especially to emphasise the divergent development of the two areas from the onset of the Agricultural Revolution. The one, Islay,

became more akin in agricultural, settlement, population and occupation structures, to the Lowlands, whereas the peninsula is seen to be much more characteristic of the West Highland region, or more particularly of Gray's North-West Highland Region<sup>1</sup> in each of these characteristics. Islay has large, medium and small-sized farms, and there is a general lack of small holdings and crofting townships. The settlement pattern is of single rural dwellings amongst villages. The occupation structure is specialised. This is all very different from the more typically Highland aspect of the peninsula which is characterised by large grazing farms and sporadic crofting townships ; generally sparse and loosely dispersed settlement ; and lack of specialised occupation structure. Even within the peninsula there are regional variations in these aspects as will be discussed below. Figure 95 shows the regions into which has been divided for the purposes of study.

1. Regional differences in rates of increase and decrease in the population of Ardnamurchan-Sunart from 1841 onwards.

	<u>1861 as %1841</u>	<u>1891 as %1841</u>	<u>1959 as %1841</u>
West End	92%	67	20
Salen area	92	70	28
Strontian area	75	60	21

Table 19 - Populations of the three areas of Ardnamurchan-Sunart in 1861, 1891, and 1959, expressed as percentages of the 1841 population maximum.

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1. Gray, M. The Consolidation of the Crofting System, Agric. Hist. Rev. 1957, vol. V. p.33.

The total rates of change in population in the nineteenth century from 1841 onwards in the peninsula show a very different pattern from those for Islay. There are no examples of actual population increase such as was to be seen in the villages of Islay. Nor was the decrease in population so early or anything like so rapid as that which took place in the rural areas of the island. There were no industrial villages to attract migration from the land in the nineteenth century, nor was the peninsula quite so accessible to the Lowland industrial centres for emigration of those of working age. So that local populations in Ardnamurchan-Sunart in 1861 varied from just over half to about three-quarters of the 1841 population ; and by 1891 these had become reduced to a fifth or to a half. In the twentieth century in Islay the advent of the mechanical revolution together with greater ease of access has reduced rural areas to only a twentieth of their 1841 population.

But in Ardnamurchan-Sunart, the establishment of the crofter system of small holders in the first half of the nineteenth century, together with the sporadic and spasmodic availability of ancillary employment in fishing (mainly in the west end of the peninsula) and of mining ( in the Strontian valley), and with the lesser ease of emigration, resulted in a smaller relative reduction of population in the nineteenth century. By the present century however population has declined in all areas to about a quarter of the original maximum. This is a smaller decline than in any rural area in Islay. The greatest declines have been in the west end where the smallness of the crofts and the decline of fishing account for the rapid decrease since the late nineteenth century ; and in the east, in the Strontian valley, again where tenants of small holdings are dependent on ancillary occupations for a livelihood. The rural decline has not been so rapid in the central area around Salen and Acharnale, the main services centres of the peninsula.

There the townships consist of holdings of greater economic size, capable of better utilisation. These features suggest several alternative explanations.

In Islay, the industrial villages' lure, and the relative proximity of the mainland and the Lowlands attracted people from the rural areas at an earlier period, and more rapidly than from the peninsula, which lacked these villages and was considerably more remote from alternative employment sources. On the other hand the traditional attachment of the Highland crofter to his land may have been accounting for the lesser rates of decrease in this predominantly crofting peninsula, the first real 'crofting region' of the Crofting Counties<sup>1</sup>. Another factor might be that the policy of agricultural reorganisation in the peninsula involved earlier clearance of a relatively greater number of townships in the peninsula than occurred in the island, accounting for a relatively lower population total in 1841, and hence the subsequent decrease was less dramatic.

In examining the age structure of the peninsula's population, it will be seen that much of the population of all three parishes of the peninsula is in the older age groups, and together with a high degree of celibacy, the indication for later twentieth century population trends is one of a much more rapid decrease in population than has gone before, particularly in the western and eastern ends of the peninsula, unless alternative agricultural reorganisation of inefficient townships in these areas is carried out, as well as maintenance or improvement in further non-agricultural employment other than in labouring and forestry.

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1. Moislley, H.A. The Highlands and Islands - A Crofting Region?  
Paper read to the Institute of British Geographers  
in January 1962.

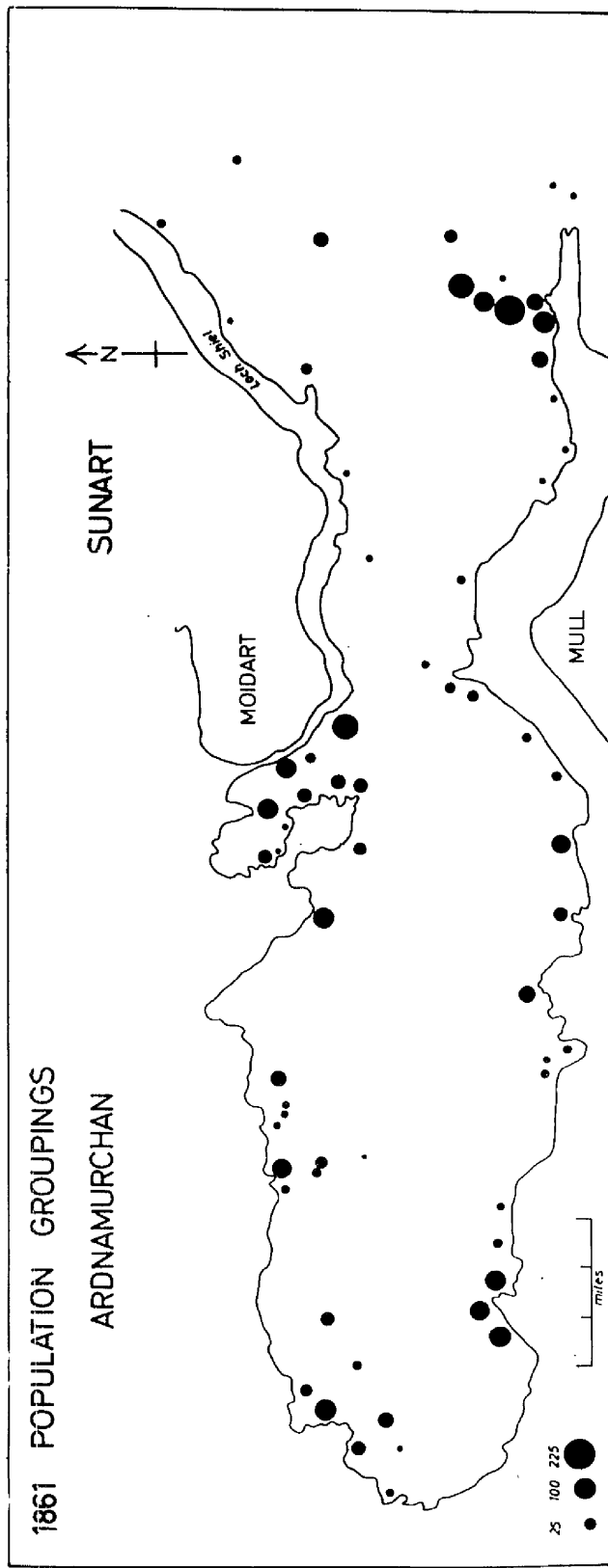
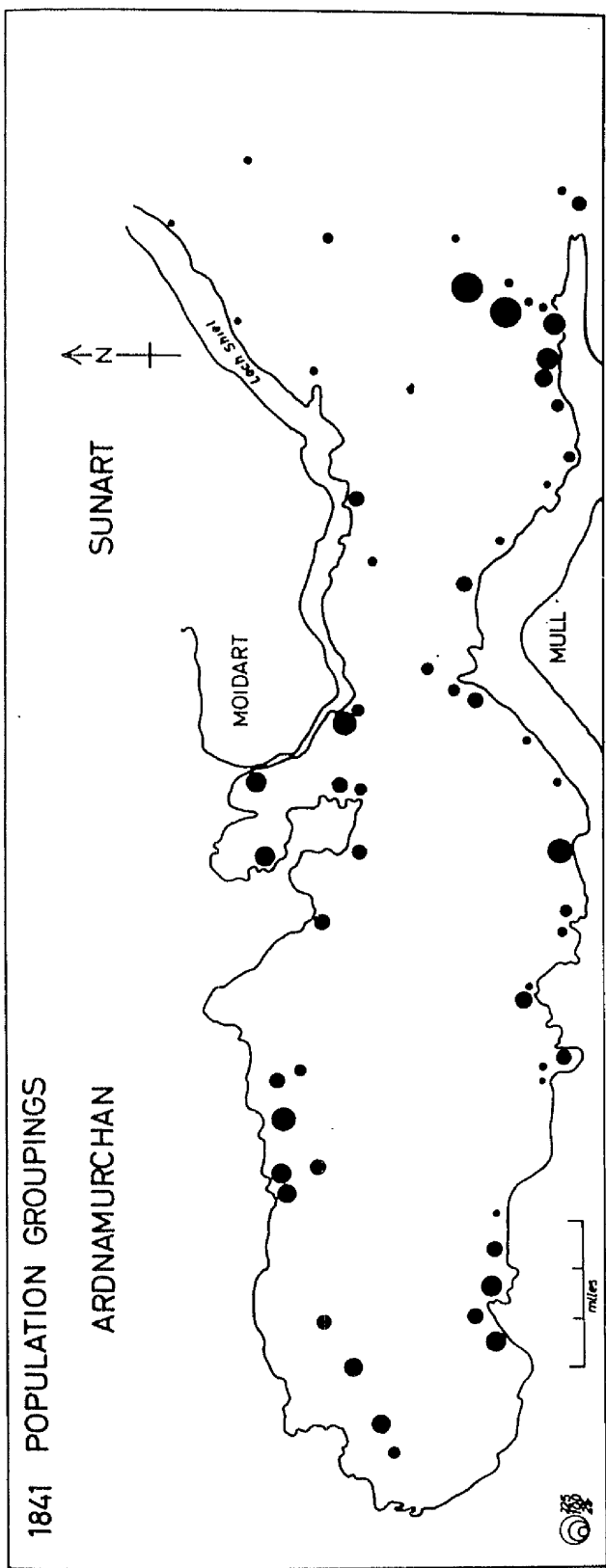


Figure 96a. Top. Population groupings in Ardnamurchan-Sunart in 1841.  
 96b. Bot. Population groupings in Ardnamurchan-Sunart in 1861.

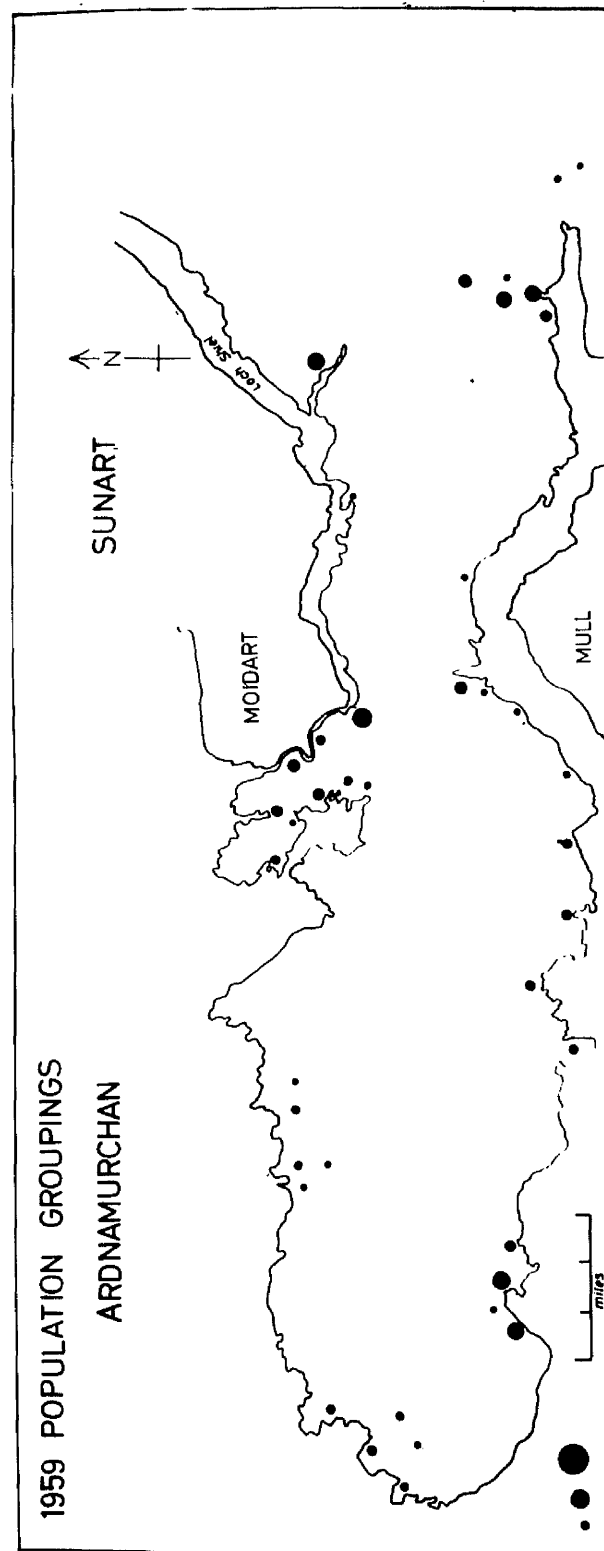
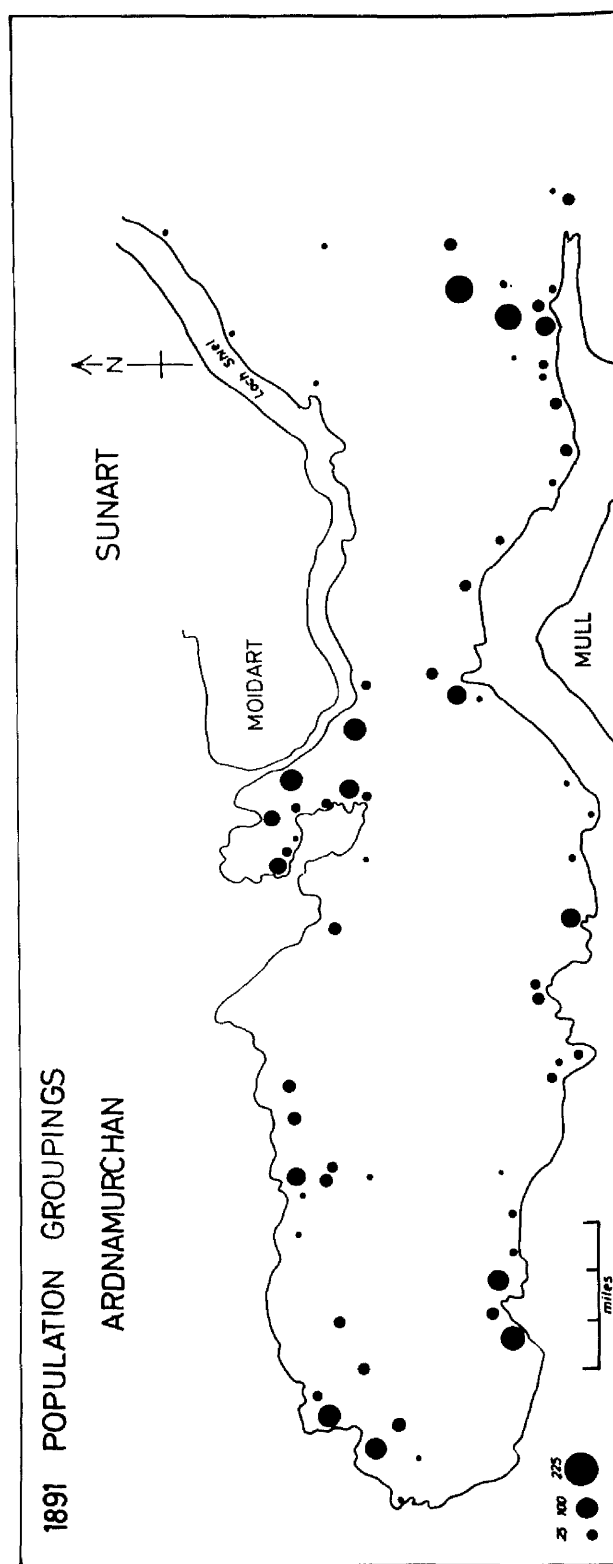


Figure 96c. and 96d. (Top and Bot.) Population groupings in Ardnamurchan-Subart in 1891 & 1959.



## 2. Changes in size and distribution of population groups.

A quick reflection on the distribution of population in 1733 (figure 94) compared with that of 1841 (figure 96a) shows that the distribution is essentially the same, peripheral and valleyward, although in 1841 in almost every case the population groups are three or four times larger than in the earlier century. A few townships such as those around Ben Hiant have been cleared of population. The subsequent changes in 1861, 1891, and to the present day, are shown in figures 96b to 96d. The decrease of population in Swordles townships, the rise of the newly settled populations of Sanna, Portuaik and around Kentra Bay, are the only noticeable changes in the period from 1841 to 1861. The other clachans have decreased only relatively slightly in size over this period. However the next phase between 1861 and 1891 shows a more noticeable diminution in size of the groups as well as a considerable thinning in their distribution. This is further intensified during the twentieth century.

## Changes in density and distributions of settlements.

With the changing patterns of landholdings and land organisation in the peninsula, there were accompanying changes in the density and distribution of the settlement pattern. Figures 97 a to d illustrate the waning of the clachan form of settlement in the peninsula, and its replacement by dispersed settlements. But the pattern at the present day is different in degree from that of Islay. Settlement is even more predominantly coastal in distribution (see figure 97d). This is accounted for by the virtual lack of substantial raised beach or large stretches of river alluvium. Furthermore the actual distributions within this restricted pattern show greater extremes, being the result of a more revolution

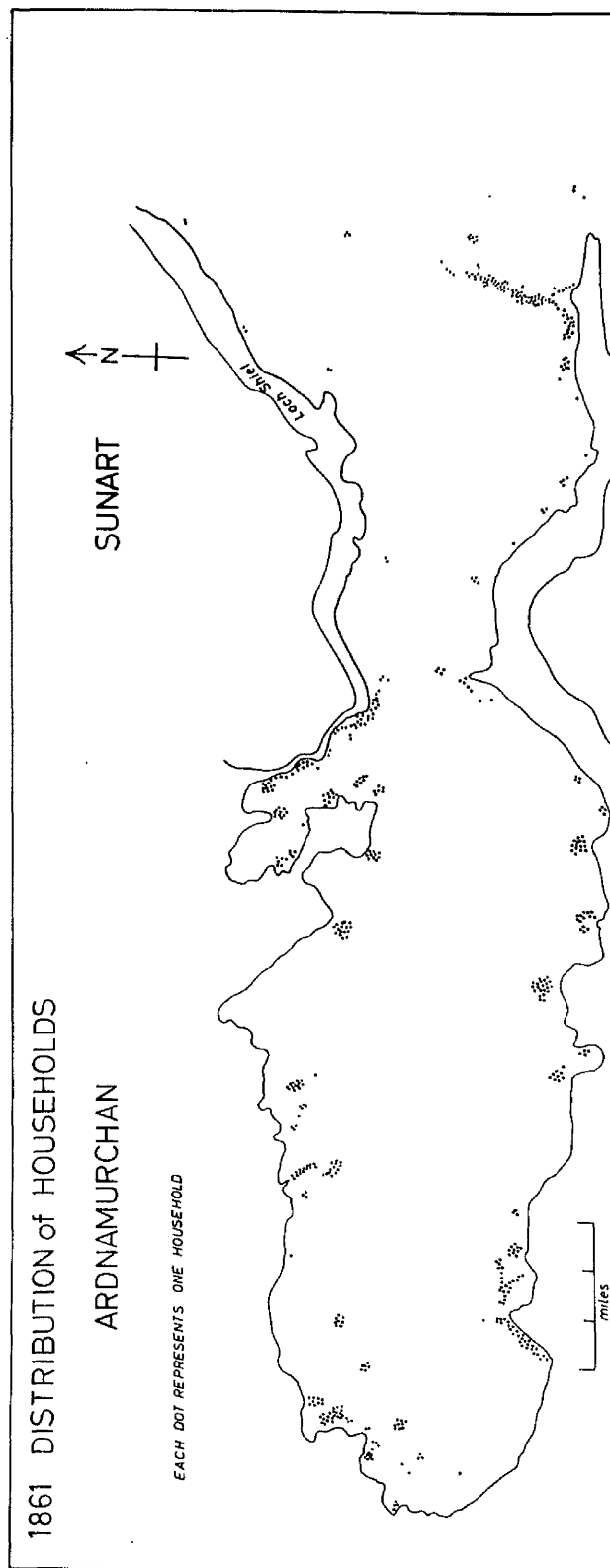
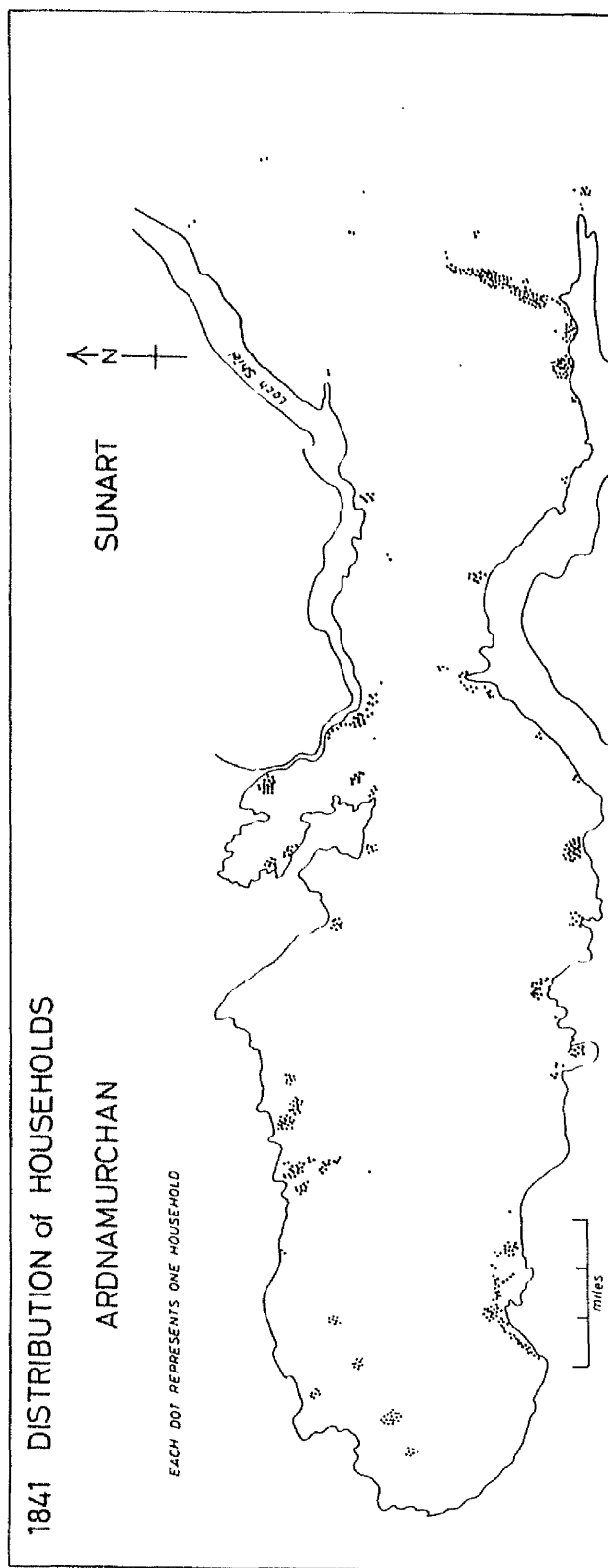


Figure 97. Distribution of households in Ardnamurchan-Sunart. 97a.(top), 1841. 97b.(bottom), 1861.

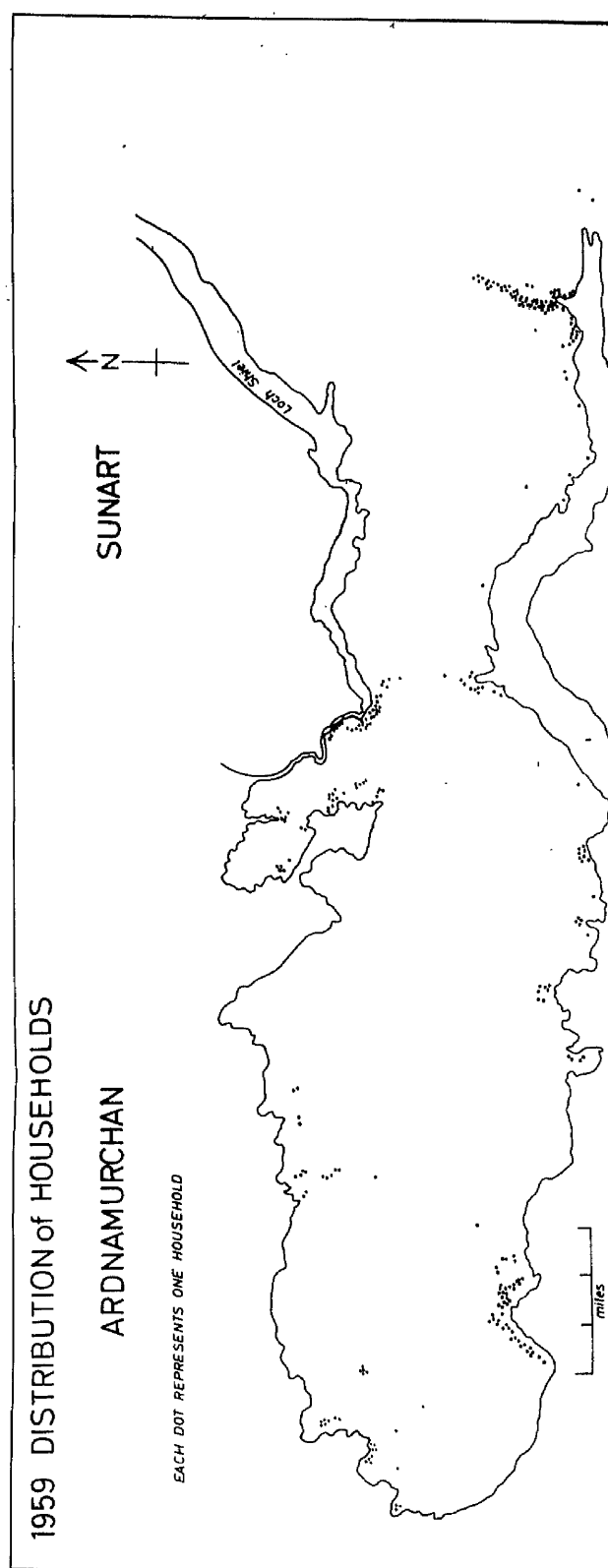
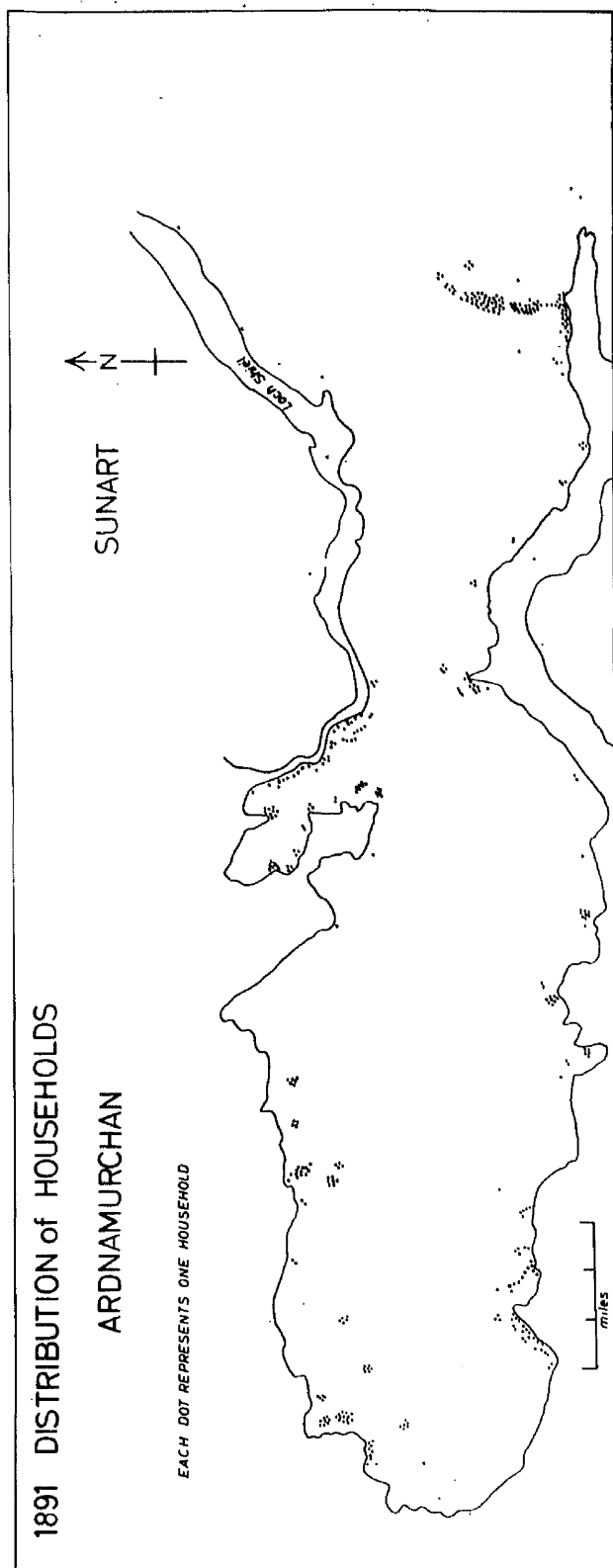


Figure 97. Distribution of households in Ardnamurchan-Sunart, 1891 (97c.) and 1959 (97a.)

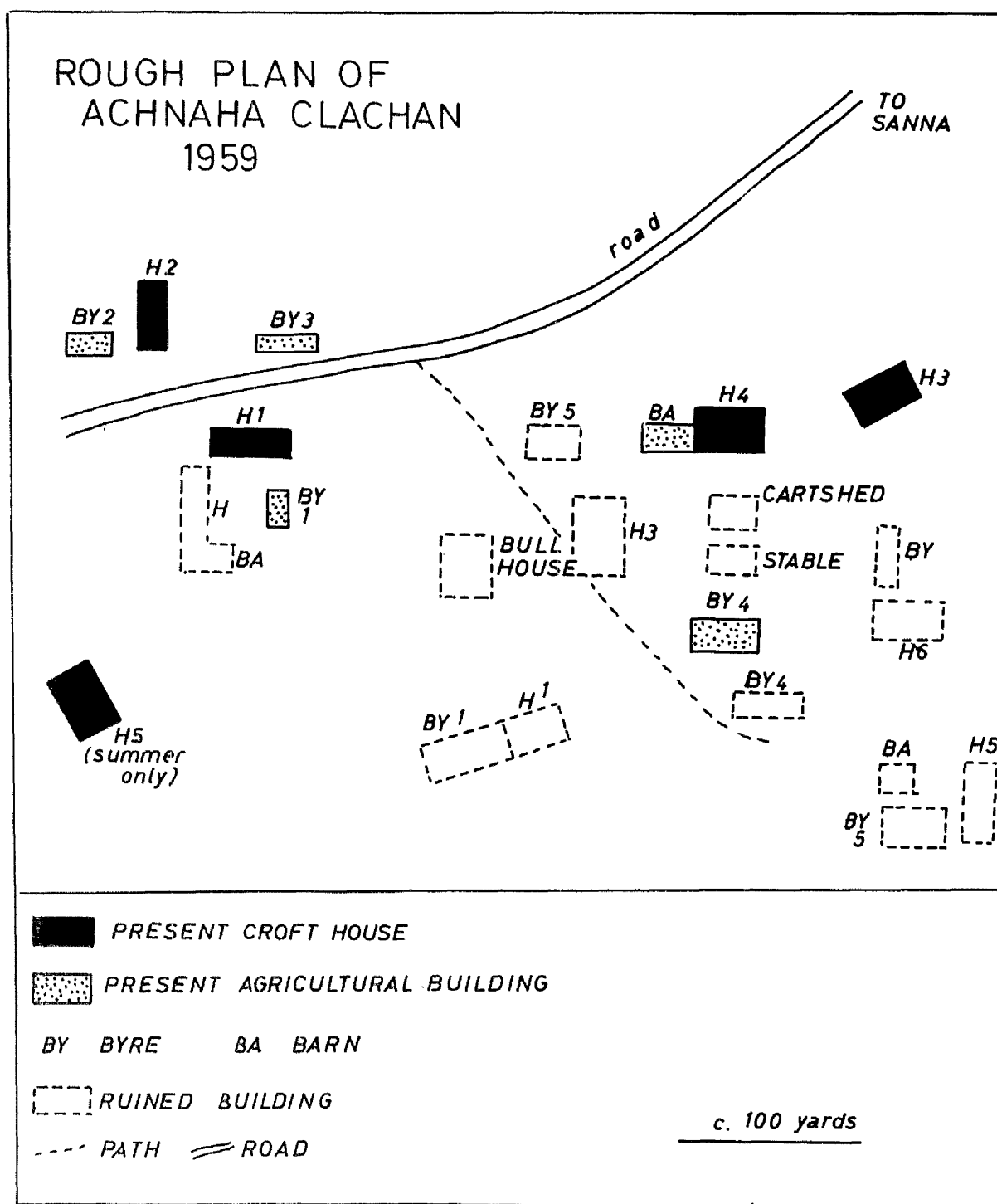


Figure 98. The characteristic West Highland intermixture of inhabited, unoccupied and ruined buildings is well illustrated in the clachan of Achnaha, in western Ardnamurchan.

development. The single settlements of the large grazing farms are few and far between. On the other hand, settlement in the townships is more dense than almost anywhere in Islay (for example see the Strontian valley, figure 97d.) Loosely agglomerated or close linear dispersed patterns predominate in the townships.

This change-over from a more dense clustered settlement pattern to the present one in the peninsula has been accompanied by the abandonment and ruination of many of the old clachans such as at Tornamoany or Bourblaige. In other clachans today, there are many ruined buildings (houses, byres, barns and sheds, which have been abandoned or which have been replaced by later buildings. One such clachan is Achnaha, illustrated in figure 98.

#### Changes in numbers per household.

Changes in numbers per household corresponded closely to the general Scottish trends of the nineteenth century, but are not so characteristic of the North-West Highlands as a whole. The most significant feature of all is the low average number of people per household at the present day (Table 20). When this is considered in relation to age structures and the high incidence of celibacy amongst people over 45, it further emphasises a much more rapid population and settlement decrease in the immediate decades to come.

	<u>1841</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1959</u>
West End	4.7	4.4	4.4	2.4
Salen area	5.5	4.9	4.7	2.5
Strontian area	5.2	4.4	4.6	2.2

Table 20. Average numbers of people per household in Ardnamurchan-Sunart in 1841, 1861, 1891 and 1959.

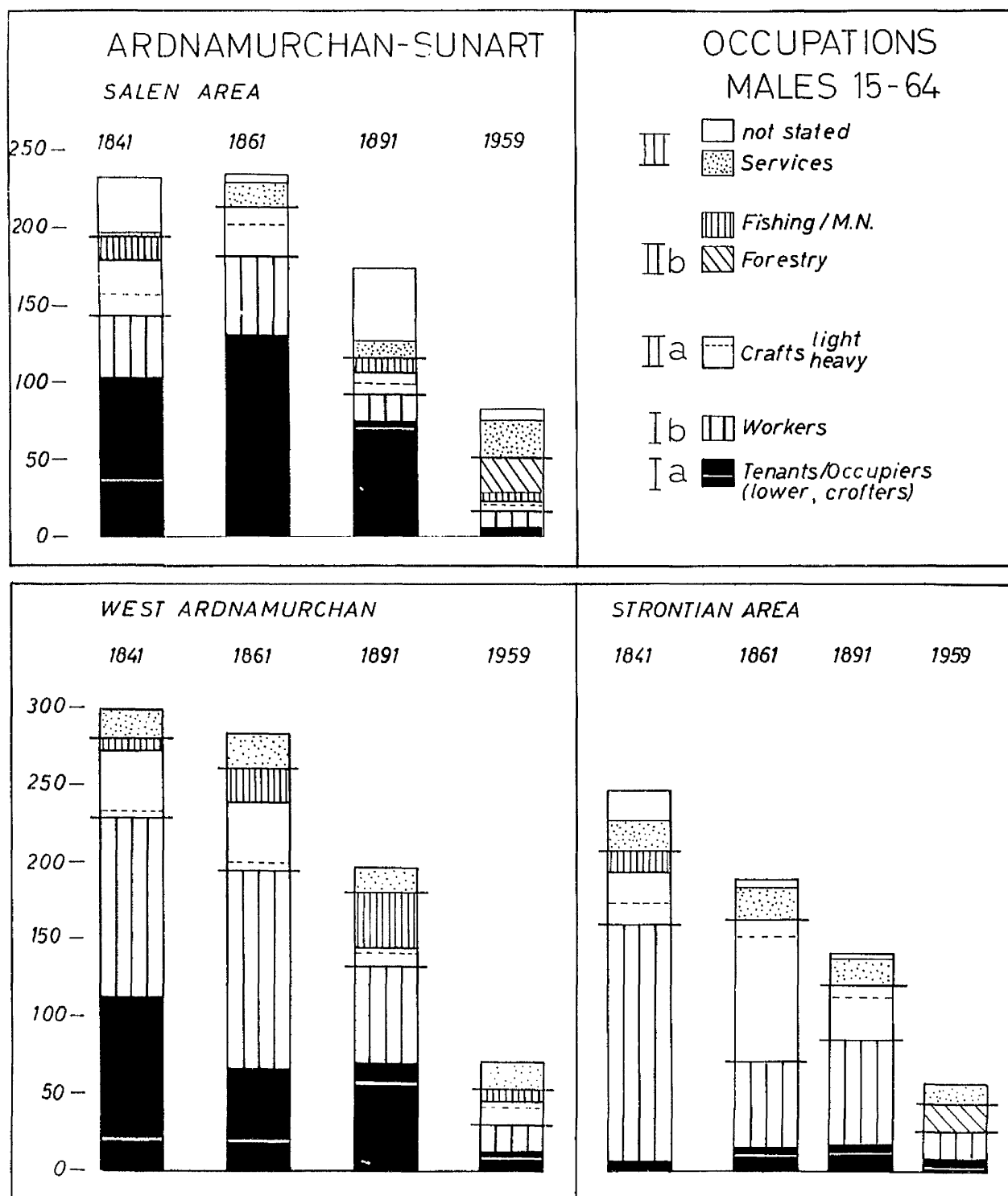


Figure 99. Occupations of males between 15 and 64 years of age in Ardnamurchan-Sunart for the years 1841, 1861, 1891, and 1959.

### 3. Changes in occupation structures.

Referring firstly to males over 15 and under 64 years of age, the same trend as for Islay of a relatively slow decline in numbers over the middle of the nineteenth century has occurred, especially in the primary and secondary categories of occupation on the land, of fishermen, of semen and miners. The greatest decline of all took place in the farmworkers and labourers, followed by declining numbers of single tenant-farmers. Not until the twentieth century was the decline in crofter population really noticeable. The places of fishing and mining in the western and eastern ends of the peninsula respectively have not been replaced except to a limited extent in the Strontian and the Salen areas by afforestation. The west end of the peninsula in the twentieth century has had few employment opportunities alternative to agriculture and has therefore suffered the greatest decline in the labour force. At the same time it contains a greater relative and absolute number involved in agriculture. Only in the Salen-Acharacle area does the number involved in the tertiary services reach considerable proportions.

Female occupations were even fewer in the nineteenth century in the peninsula than on Islay, with its farms and villages requiring domestic servants and others. This feature of lack of female employment has become even more pronounced in the present century and is illustrated by the unbalance between male and female people of working age, especially in the west end of the peninsula, a characteristic of any truly crofting area.

# ARDNAMURCHAN-SUNART

AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF POPULATION 1841 TO PRESENT-DAY

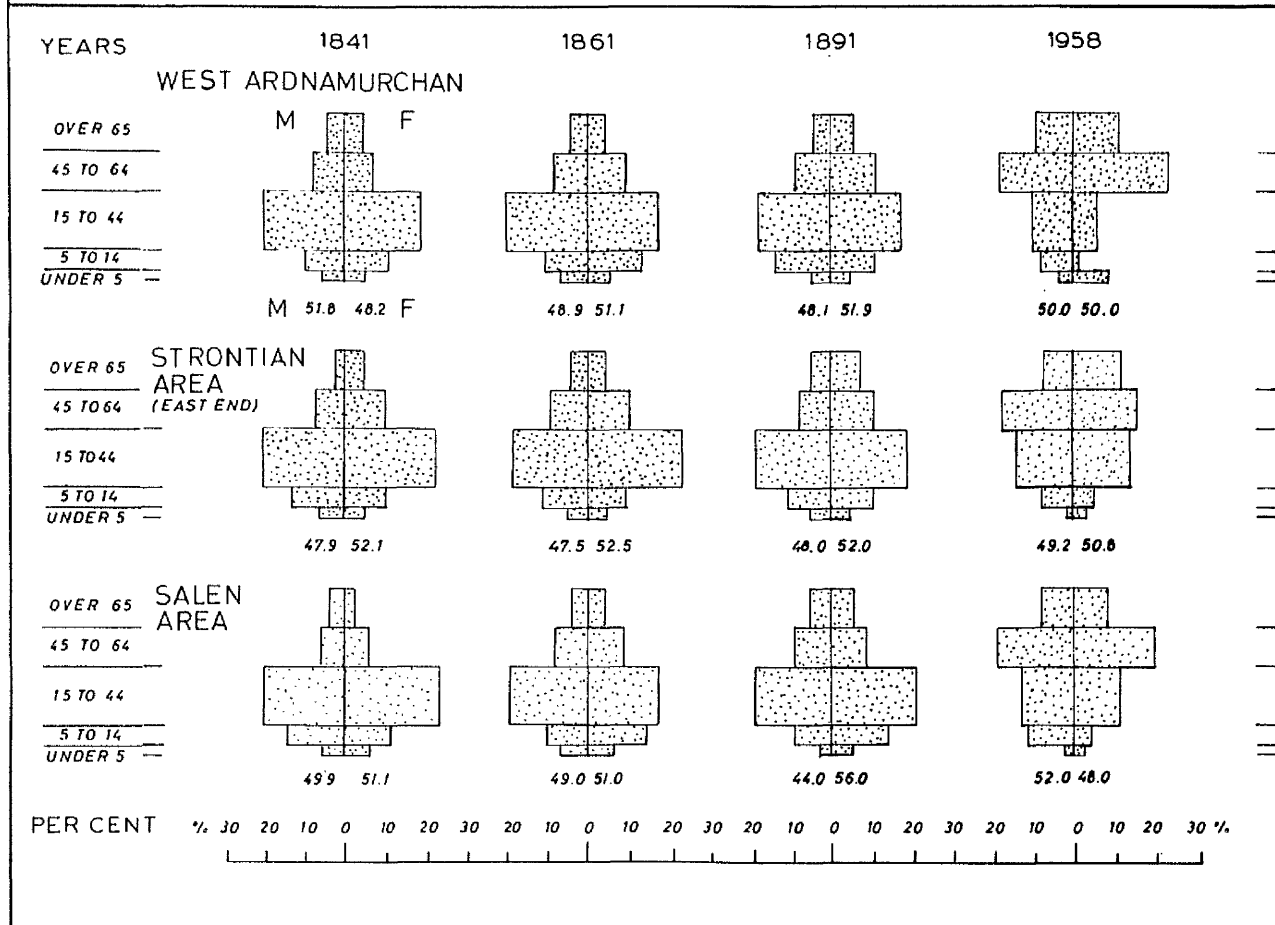


Figure 100. Age and sex composition of the population of Ardnamurchan and Sunart for the years 1841, 1861 and 1891 from the Census of Scotland ;and for 1959 from the writer's census.

- 100a. West Ardnamurchan
- 100b. Strontian area
- 100c. Salen area.



4. Changes in age structures, sex ratios, birth places and Gaelic speaking patterns.

Changes in age structures and in sex ratios are seen in figures 100a to 100c to be of the same order in the peninsula as in the rural areas of Islay such as the Oa. At the present day these areas offer no employment alternative to agriculture. In the peninsula the population pyramids were always overbalanced in favour of those in the working age groups. But the real unbalance occurred between the decline of fishing and lead-mining in the late nineteenth century and the present-day. In all three areas this has left a population with a far greater proportion of older than of younger people, especially in the west end and in the Strontian valley. Only in the area before-mentioned around Salen and Acharacle, with a slightly larger size of crofts, and with alternative employment on roads, services and afforestation, is the age pyramid more balanced though still considerably out of shape when compared even to the villages in Islay, or more especially to the national pyramid.

Birth places and Gaelic speakers.

Throughout the peninsula in the nineteenth century the population was almost entirely native with the exception of a few professional people, and some shepherds from the rest of mainland Argyll and Perth. Even in the twentieth century the same trend is seen, although wives and children of local men are from other parts of the country. The percentage of Gaelic speakers in 1951, in Ardnamurchan and Sunart was about the same as that for Islay but had decreased rapidly since the time of the previous Census in 1931.<sup>1</sup>

In the foregoing discussion in Section IV an attempt has been made to study the changes in settlement and occupation patterns in the island of Islay and the peninsula of Ardnamurchan-Sunart which resulted from the different types of change in land organisation discussed in previous sections. In some instances changes in landholdings were accompanied simultaneously by redistribution of settlement and changing population structures. This was especially true of the areas more 'Highland' in character, where the impact of the Agricultural Revolution was later, took place more suddenly, and had an immediate dramatic effect on the landscape. In others, especially in Islay, the agricultural innovations were introduced over a longer period and their effects on settlement and population patterns were more gradual and sporadic. A greater number of relict traces of the old order remain. The reasons for, and the results of, these differences will be summarised in the Conclusion.

## CONCLUSION

In any area at the present day, the patterns of landholdings organisation, the degree of utilisation of land and the settlement, population and occupation patterns are the result of historical, isolational and environmental factors. Any one of these factors may be relatively more important than others in determining the resultant patterns, and one or other of them may be more important at certain periods than at others. But within the broad context of the Atlantic Ends of Europe of which the west Highland seaboard of Scotland is part, degrees of environmental or physical change are seen to be accentuated by the other factors of degree of isolation or accessibility, and of historical evolution both in the social and economic sense. Poverty of environment, both agriculturally and industrially, and isolation in the west Highland seaboard generally, were two factors which led to overpopulation of the land when sources of income subsidiary to agriculture failed in the nineteenth century. The beginnings of what has come to be known as the Highland Problem were created when a subsistence society was first brought into a national monetary economy. The isolational or accessibility factor however was also partly responsible for the ways in which attempts were made to solve this problem.

With regard to physical endowment Islay not only has many varied rock types ranging from gneiss and quartzite to sandstone, conglomerate and limestone, but there is also a varied and frequently extensive mantle of glacial, fluvioglacial, postglacial and alluvial deposits. With fairly persistent rainfall the soils formed on these deposits are leached and acid in reaction. But where well-drained and limed using locally-ground limestone (rare in the region as a whole) they provide a varied soil basis

for farming. Where drainage is not good naturally however, extensive peat bogs result. Largely due to their extent they have been utilised in Islay as the main source of fuel, both domestic, and industrial in the distilleries.

The greater accessibility of Islay in the Inner Hebrides to the introduction of ideas from the Lowlands by the landlords and the greater ease for emigration to the Lowlands resulted eventually by the third quarter of the nineteenth century in a fairly 'Lowland' aspect of industrial villages and a varied pattern of agricultural holdings. In the more isolated peninsula of Ardnamurchan-Sunart however, the isolation from ideas and the difficulty of emigration emphasised a much poorer physical environment. Together these resulted in a greater degree of overpopulation by the early nineteenth century. The attempted solution to the problems of land congestion and overpopulation was the more rigid pattern imposed by the landlords. This pattern of large grazing farms with crofting townships dispersed amongst them has perpetuated the Highland Problem in the peninsula.

Today well over a century later there is renewed need for social (evolutionary or revolutionary) change in such economically marginal areas. Land is the main resource in this west Highland region and it is desirable that the land should be utilised to optimum advantage if the aims of the Government and other bodies interested in the Highland Problem are to be fulfilled. One of these aims is to secure means of support for adequate living standards without excessive financial aid either private or public. On the agricultural side, this cannot be accomplished where holdings are either too large for available capital or too small for efficient working. The first is characteristic of the larger grazing farms of the peninsula and of some of the farms of Islay and leads to under-utilisation of the

land, whether arable, pasture or rough grazing. According to Noble<sup>1</sup> "under-populated but potentially productive areas like Islay, Mull and Coll" could support resettlement crofting systems. On the other hand, in a few areas in Islay and in the majority (though not all) of the crofting townships in Ardnamurchan-Sunart, the organisation of holdings which are too small or in unconsolidated pieces, leads equally to under-utilisation of the land. In these latter areas the Highland Problem of the twentieth century is essentially the same as that of the nineteenth - overpopulation of the land (despite under-utilisation) caused mainly by the unsatisfactory organisation of holdings. One part of the remedy must lie in reorganisation of existing holdings as has been recognised by the Government through the Crofters Commission re-established in mid-twentieth century. Dickie<sup>2</sup> says "Major operations are continually in progress in various European countries to counter excessive subdivision of holdings .... These operations involve not only the reallocation of land but also comprehensive development to achieve economic size and layout and greater productivity". In many parts of the west Highland seaboard there is a blatant necessity for this type of development.

The other aims to promote economic growth in the region are in increasing the scope and choice of employment and in increasing the provision of amenities. These would be promoted in the hope of retaining or establishing viable communities with modern standards of living and opportunities for useful employment. But they must take second place to reorganisation of the land in this area of relative poverty of environment and relative inaccessibility to

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1. Noble, T.A.F. The Future of Crofting. S.J.Polit.Econ. 1954 Vol.1, no. 2, p.
  2. Dickie, M.A.M. The Crofting Counties, Problems and Prospects. T.R.M.A.S. 1960 p.1.

markets. In many ways developments must be complementary. The Shawfield Campbells in the late eighteenth century in Islay applied the principle of separation of landholders from landworkers, industrial workers and others. This policy attempted to ensure that the most suitable tenants had sufficient land to make a living for themselves and families, whilst tenants in arrears were induced to migrate to industrial villages or to rural and industrial areas of the mainland. Although this policy was not wholly successful, in that population increase in the first quarter of the nineteenth century led to the very feature the Shawfields had been trying to avoid - that of over-population of land - at least the degree of land congestion in Islay was considerably less than in many parts of the West Highland seaboard. As Campbell<sup>1</sup> says "an improving policy if .... possible in the topography of the western seaboard and in the islands, ... almost certainly implied fewer people". This idea of reduction in numbers of people on the land, leaving greater scope for the remaining tenants, and for reorganisation of holdings was pursued throughout the nineteenth century in Islay and at all times a varied pattern of agricultural landholdings existed. This made possible the advancement of the individual. This same policy is necessary today.

The actual basis for industrial development in the villages was, in the late eighteenth century not much greater than over much of the region as a whole. Improvements in agriculture led at first to a grain surplus capable of being sold in the villages, or used for distillation of whisky for sale and export. Together with a determined effort on the part of the Shawfields to establish other villages with definite non-agricultural occupations such as

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1. Campbell, R.H. Review of Gray's Highland Economy 1750-1850. Scot.J. Polit.Econ. Vol.VI p.61.

fishing, weaving or mining, the aims of reducing land population were considerably satisfied. There are not at the present day many non-agricultural industries which could be expanded or established in these economically marginal areas. Whisky distilling in Islay and the manufacture of Harris Tweed in the Outer Hebrides are exceptions. Developments in the holiday and services industries (including forestry, labouring on road and hydro-electric schemes) must not be over-emphasised. But in both Islay and Ardnamurchan-Sunart in the areas where isolation is greatest, environment poorest and lack of alternative employment greatest, there are areas of small holdings at present considerably under-utilised by virtue of their landholdings evolution. These areas too are the ones which show greatest preponderance of old and celibate people. More practicable organisation to make these into efficient agricultural units is desirable. In many cases in both areas this is already taking place by dwindling numbers of tenants just as reorganisation occurred over a century ago in Islay. In other cases, as in Ardnamurchan-Sunart, this is not yet occurring rapidly enough, due to the Highlander's traditional tenacity to land, and to the greater numbers of tenants per township. Perhaps the need there is for further revolution with the proviso that it takes the form of adequate agricultural holdings for able tenants, and the provision of non-landholding fees for displaced tenants. These latter might be settled in agglomerated settlements providing greater services and amenities.

Concomitantly with changes in landholdings patterns and organisation in these parts of the west Highland seaboard, since the eighteenth century there has been a change in the pattern of settlement from the ubiquitous clachans. In Islay this has given say, sometimes suddenly, but more often gradually, to

a loosely dispersed pattern in the rural areas with only relict traces of the old cluster pattern left today, either as totally or partially ruined clachans. In Ardnamurchan-Sunart a similar redistribution of settlement has taken place. But in Islay a very distinctive part of the landscape which resulted from late eighteenth and early nineteenth century planning - that of the establishment and layout of gridiron villages - has resulted in the existence of communities which by virtue of occupation and age structure are amongst the most viable along the entire seaboard at the present day<sup>1</sup>. The contrast with an area more typical of the west Highland region such as Ardnamurchan-Sunart, or some of the Outer Hebrides is at once clear<sup>1</sup>.

Darby<sup>2</sup> says "If the purpose of the geographer is to explain the landscape it is clear that he is unable to rely solely on what he sees. Field work provides us with the data and on occasion, takes us some way towards the elucidation of the data .... yet .... field work is not enough. When as geographers, we gaze around, one question forces itself upon our attention. Why does this countryside look as it does? What has given this landscape its present character? The moment we ask this question we are committed to historical geography in one form or another". Evans<sup>3</sup> further illustrates the aims of geographical study by saying "The static reconstruction of past cultural landscapes that has come to be regarded as the aim of historical geography, should be, for the geographer, a beginning and not an end". The Highland Problem especially of the western seaboard of Scotland is partly the result of, and

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1. See for example, Appendix 1.

2. Darby, H.C. "On the Relations of Geography and History". Trans.Inst. Brit.Geog. 1953 Vol. 19 p.9.

3. Evans, E.E. The Atlantic Ends of Europe. Advan.Sci. 1958 vol. 58 'E' p.64.



partly poses the questions on the present-day landscape. Historical factors of social and economic isolation or accessibility in the region as a whole have contributed as much or more to the present Highland problem as have environmental ones. In the words of Linton<sup>1</sup> "Alone among the humanities we are concerned with the concrete aspects of the world man has made for himself - his fields, farms, villages and towns, as they have been developed in the landscape and inherited from history". This is emphasised by Evans<sup>2</sup> who states "The cultural patterns of field and farmstead extend over wide areas with very little reference to geology or morphology .... History must provide the key though space relations are all-important".

Given the limitations of a west Highland seaboard environment with old and hard bare rock surfaces, leached and acidic soils and a moist climate, with only a few areas really favourable to man's occupation, it has been the purpose of this thesis to try to illuminate the differing patterns, especially of land organisation and settlement together with their problems past and present in two chosen areas of this seaboard. These have resulted from the two major factors of degree of isolation or accessibility (differing with insularity and peninsularity) and historical evolution. The conclusions reached concur in general terms with the results of other research workers on the Atlantic Ends of Europe, especially on the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and on Ireland, although in detail there are considerable local variations. By recourse to official and published sources; to unpublished private estate material; and to painstaking work in the field, these local variations in patterns of land-holdings, land utilisation and settlement in the Atlantic Ends can be elucidated. This has been the main aim of this thesis with reference to the two selected areas of Islay and Ardnamurchan-Sunart on the West Highland seaboard of Scotland.

- 
1. Linton, D.L.L. "Geography and the Social Revolution". Geogr. 1957 Vol.42 p.13.
  2. Evans, E.E. Review of Flatic's "The Cultural Landscape of Four Celtic Counties". Scot.geog.Mag. 1958 Vol.74 No.3 p.189.

## SOURCES.

### A. PUBLISHED NATIONAL SOURCES.

- I. SURVEYS AND CENSUSES. p.(ii)
- II. MAPS p.(ii)
- III. REPORTS AND MINUTES OF EVIDENCE OF ROYAL COMMISSIONS. p.(ii)  
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RELEVANT ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

### B. UNPUBLISHED NATIONAL SOURCES.

- I. THE CENSUS OF SCOTLAND INDIVIDUAL ENUMERATION SCHEDULES p.(iii)  
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PARISH REGISTER OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND  
BALD'S PLAN OF 1806/1807.

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- H. UNPUBLISHED REFERENCE WORKS, e.g. THESES, UNPUBLISHED PAPERS ETC. p.(xxii)

## A. PUBLISHED NATIONAL SOURCES.

### I. SURVEYS AND CENSUSES.

1. Military Survey of Scotland (General Roy) in the mid-eighteenth century. (This depicts only the mainland).
2. Webster's Enumeration of Population, 1755.
3. Statistical Accounts.
  1. The Old Statistical Account, ed. Sinclair, Sir J. et al. 1794.v.XI.
  2. The New Statistical Account, ed. various. 1845.v.VII.
  3. The Third Statistical Account, ed. Macdonald, C.M. et al. Argyll. 1961.
4. Census of Scotland volumes, 1801 to 1961.
5. Valuations of 1751; late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
6. Electoral Registers of the twentieth century.

### II. MAPS.

#### 1. Ordnance Survey Maps

First Edition Six-Inch Maps. Argyll 1870's and 1880's.  
 Second Edition Six-Inch Maps. Argyll Early 1900's.  
 Twenty-Five Inch Plans. For parts of mainland Argyll. 1870's.

#### 2. G.S.G.S. Maps.

1:25,000 edition.

### III. REPORTS AND MINUTES OF EVIDENCE OF ROYAL COMMISSIONS.

#### REPORTS OF GOVERNMENT AND OTHER OFFICIAL BODIES.

#### RELEVANT ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

1. First and Second Reports from the Select Committee appointed to enquire into the condition of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and into the practicability of affording proper relief by means of Emigration. 1841.
2. Correspondence relating to the Measures adopted for the Relief of the Distress in Scotland July 1846 to February 1847. Parliamentary Papers.
3. Reports of the Glasgow and Edinburgh Sections of the Central Relief Board Fund for Destitution in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. 1848.
4. Sir John McNeill's Report to the Board of Supervision on the Western Highlands and Islands in 1851.
5. Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor in Scotland, 1851.
6. Report of H.M. Commissioners of Enquiry into the Conditions of Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland 1884 (Napier Report). Also Minutes of Evidence taken before this Commission.

7. Crofters (Scotland) Act 1886.
8. Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Royal Commission (Highlands and Islands) 1892. (Deer Forest Commission).
9. Crofters Commission Annual Reports 1887-1911.
10. Congested Districts Board Annual Reports 1887-1911.
11. Scottish Land Court Annual Reports 1912 onwards.
12. Board of Agriculture for Scotland. Annual Reports 1913-1928.
13. Department of Agriculture for Scotland Annual Reports, 1929-1960.
14. Annual Reports of the Fishery Board for Scotland, 1882-1948.
15. Annual Reports of the Fisheries Department of the Home Department of Scotland, 1949-1959.
16. Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland, 1960 onwards.
17. Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting Conditions, 1954. (Taylor Report). Also unpublished Minutes of Evidence, by permission of Professor A.K. Cairncross.
18. Crofters (Scotland) Act 1955.
19. Crofters Commission Annual Reports from 1955 onwards.
20. Crofters (Scotland) Act 1961.
21. Scottish Home Department's Programme of Highland Development (Cmd 7976).
22. Scottish Home Department's Review of Highland Policy (Cmd 785).
23. Scottish Council (Development and Industry). Highland Transport Costs 1951. (C619 - 1953).
24. Types of Farms in Scotland. Department of Agriculture for Scotland. 1947.

#### B. UNPUBLISHED NATIONAL RESOURCES.

- I. CENSUS OF SCOTLAND ENUMERATION SCHEDULES from 1841 to 1891; access by permission of H.M. Registrar-General for Scotland.  
These enumeration schedules have been consulted for the areas concerned for each of the decennial censuses from 1841 to 1891 and form much of the basis for Section IV. A more complete discussion of the Census as a valuable source in the historical geography of nineteenth century Scotland, and the method used by the writer in abstracting relevant information from the individual entries is contained in Section IV and in Appendix 7.
- II. RECORDS OF H.M. CUSTOMS AND EXCISE for the island of Islay.  
The records relating to the island of Islay in the early nineteenth century were consulted by permission of H.M. Commissioners of the Customs and Excise.

### III. AIR PHOTOGRAPHS.

Air photographs of the mid-twentieth century have been consulted for the island and the peninsula by permission of the Department of Health for Scotland. A close study of these, in conjunction with interpretation of other material, frequently indicated of corroborated changes in organisation of landholdings and in settlement.

## C. UNPUBLISHED PRIVATE SOURCES.

### I. ISLAY.

Unpublished private estate papers relating to the island of Islay have been studied by permission of Major J.G. Morrison, M.P. of Islay Estates Limited, and of Mrs. F. Ramsay of Port Charlotte in Islay. The Islay Estates material will be referred to subsequently in parenthesis as (Shawfield) until the mid-nineteenth century, and (Morrison) thereafter. That from Mrs. Ramsay, relating to parts of the former Kildalton estate, as (Ramsay).

The unpublished sources are of four main types:

#### 1. RENTALS.

(Shawfield)	1798	(Morrison)	1863	(Ramsay)	1856
	1812		1871		1863
	1824		1881		1866
	1833		1891		1910
	1835		1901		1920
	1842		1911		
	1848		1921		
	1852		1931		

#### 2. OTHER ESTATE DOCUMENTS

(Shawfield)	1795.	Farms let after expiry of lease.
	1796.	Lands recommended for rent increase.
	1813/1816	Arrears of Rent.
	1828	List of contents of the Estate.
	1832	View of the Tenantry of the estate of Islay.
	1833	List of Offers for holdings on the estate.
	1836/40	Sundry incomplete rentals of the estate.
	1848	Contents of the Barony of Islay.
		Many letters, accounts and other correspondence.
(Ramsay)	1839	A Description of the population of the Oa in 1839.
	1843	Agricultural Survey of the Island.
	1867	List of emigrants visited in Canada by John Ramsay.

1779 LEASES  
EXTANT



Figure (i). Distribution of extant leases for 1779 in Islay.

1802 LEASES  
EXTANT

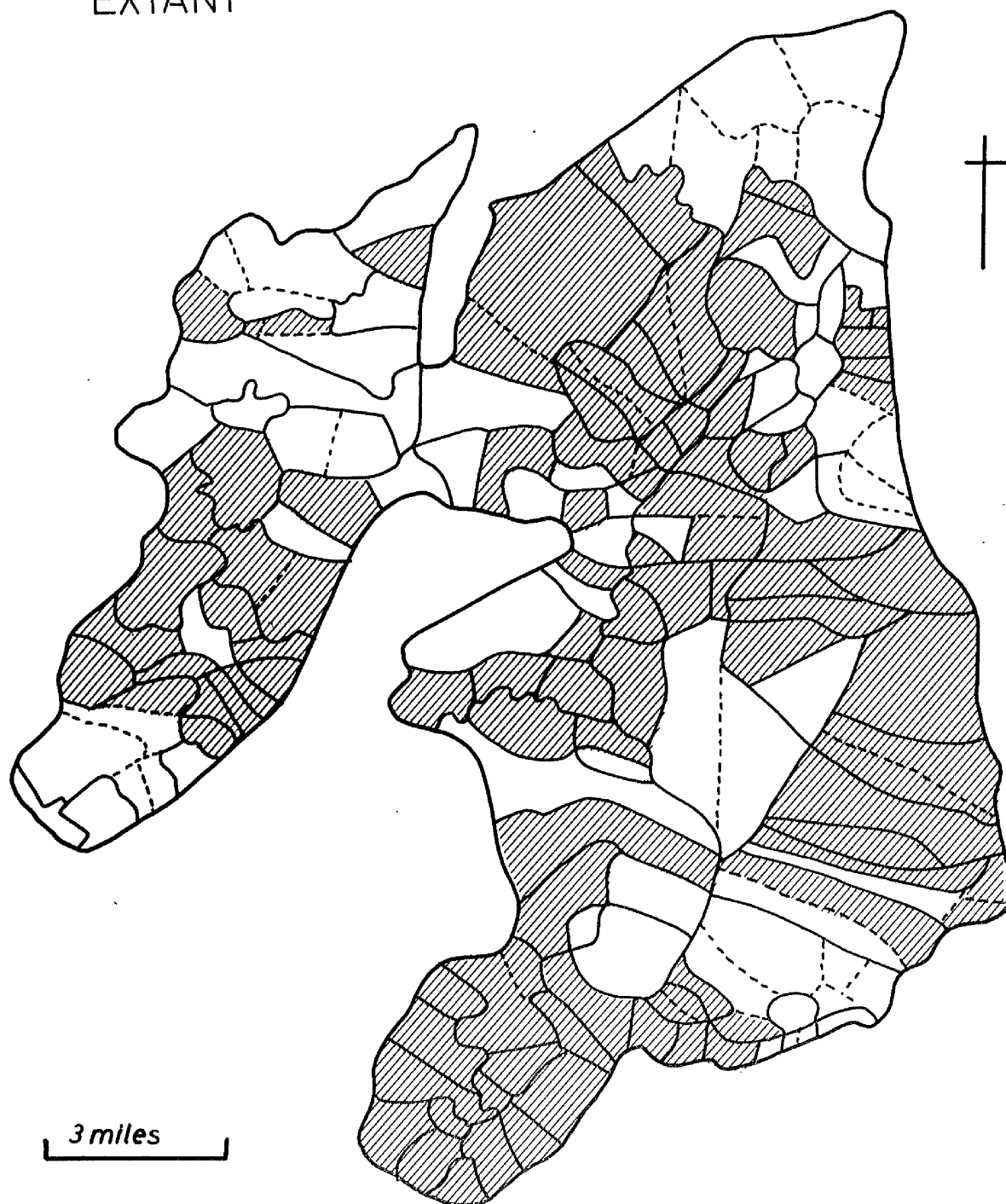


Figure (ii). Distribution of extant leases in Islay for 1802.

## EXTANT ESTATE MAPS (I)

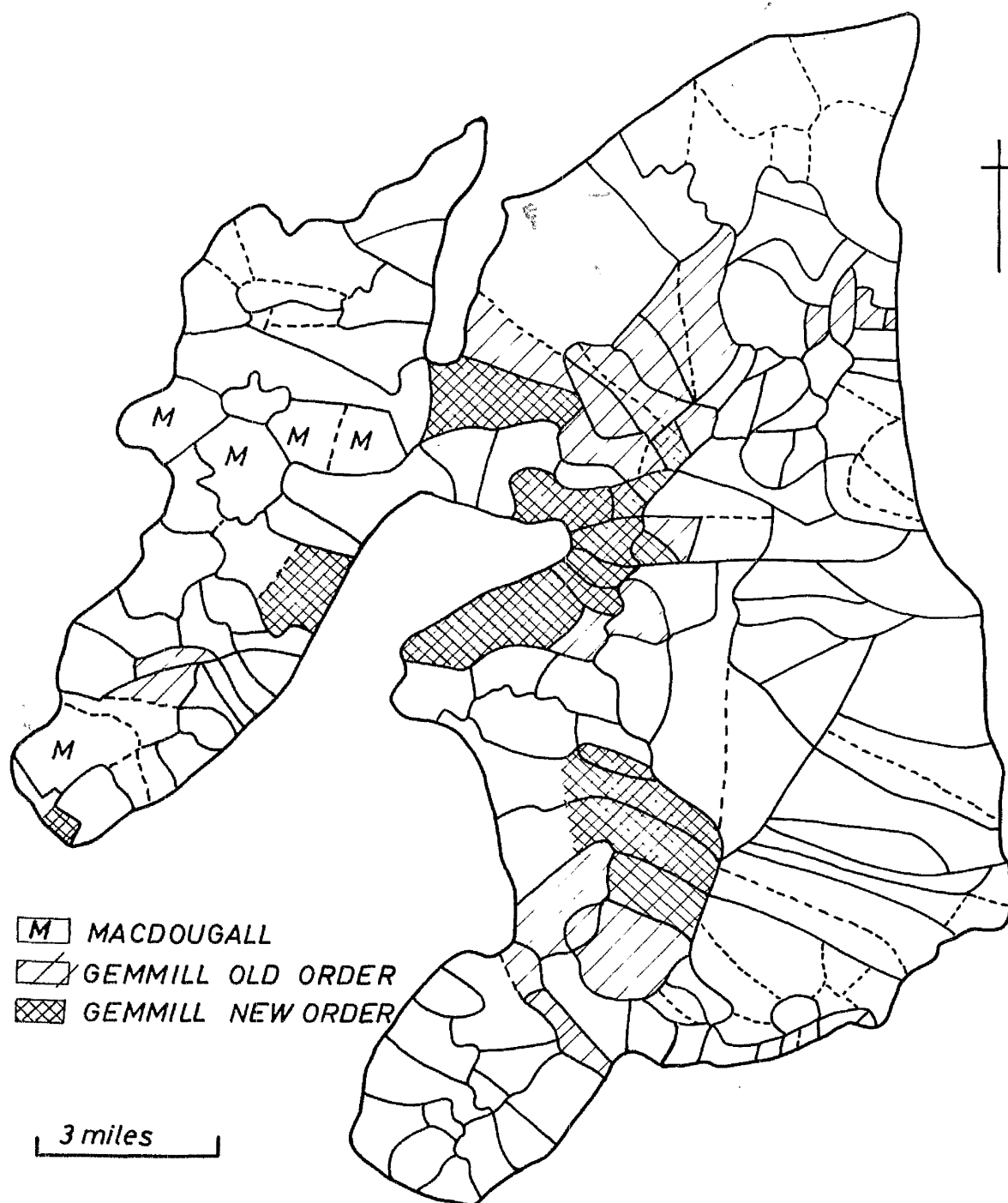


Figure (iii). Distribution of extant estate maps of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, MacDougall and Gemmill respectively.



## EXTANT ESTATE MAPS (II)

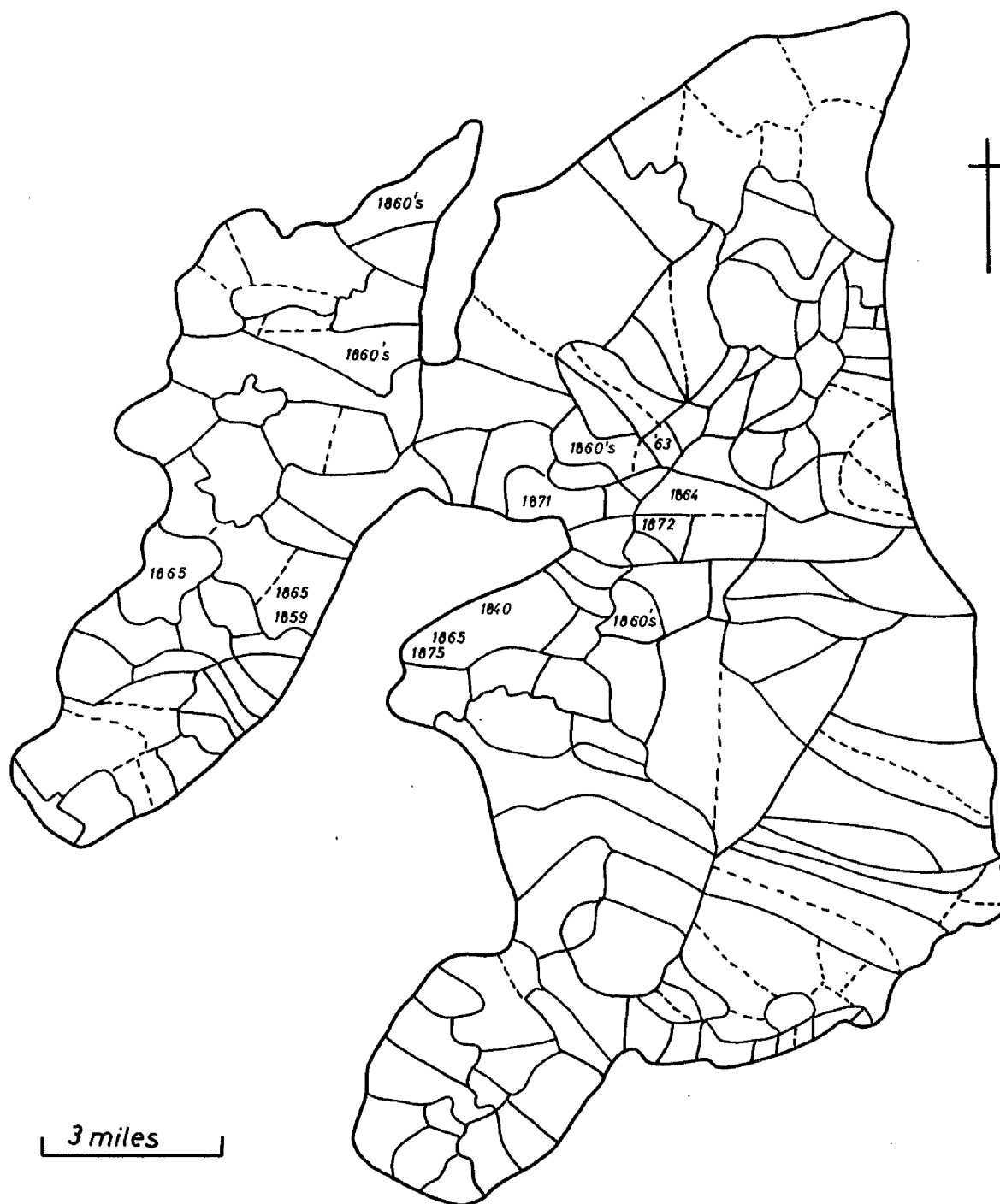


Figure (iv). Distribution of extant estate maps in Islay, of the later nineteenth century.

3. EXTANT TACKS AND LEASES FOR ISLAY in 1769, 1779 and 1803.

The distribution of these tacks which are extant (Shawfield collection) is shown in figures (i) and (ii).

4. UNPUBLISHED ESTATE MAPS AND PLANS FOR ISLAY .

The maps and plans are all in the possession of Islay Estates Limited at Ballabus, Bridgend, Isle of Islay, except those marked (RAM) in the following list. These latter are in the possession of Mrs. F. Ramsay of Port Charlotte, Isle of Islay. The distribution of the extant maps and plans is shown in figures (iii) and (iv).

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED ESTATE MAPS AND PLANS FOR ISLAY.

1749 - 1751. Stephen MacDougall, Land Surveyor.

1. Map of the island of Islay as surveyed by Stephen MacDougall Land Surveyor in 1749, 1750 and 1751, on a scale of 100 chains to one inch, each chain being 74 feet. (This map was later printed in London in 1848, and appeared in the Book of Islay (G.G. Smith), Edinburgh, 1895.
2. Gladville and Gladach in 1749.
3. Coul Park in 1749.
4. Links of Gruinard in 1749.
5. Sunderland and Foreland in 1749.

1769.

6. Map of East Kilchoman representing the division into three farms in 1769.

1820's and 1830's. William Gemmill, Surveyor.

(Most of these plans are on the scale of 4 chains to one inch, or 20 inches to one mile).

7. Achnaclache. Old organisation.
8. Plan of MacDougall's distillery at Ardbeg in 1835. (RAM)
9. Ballichlaven. Old organisation. Several tenants.
10. Muir of Ballichlaven. do.
11. Muir of Balliharvey. do.
12. Ballemartin. Old organisation. Several tenants.
13. Balliterson. New organisation. Small holdings.
14. Balole. Old organisation. Tack or single farm.
15. Bowmore Village and adjoined Lands, 1825.

16. Plan of Bowmore distillery, 1833.
17. Draft of sundry feus in the village of Bowmore in 1835.
18. Bridgend. New organisation. Single farm.
19. Buninulce and Coregorten. Old organisation. Tacks with subtenants.
20. Coolabus. Old organisation. Single farm.
21. Cooltorsa. New organisation. Single farm and cottars houses.
22. Cooltune and Kelsa. Old organisations. Single tacks.
23. Cornibus. Old organisation. Single tack.
24. North Division of Corsapool. Partial reorganisation. Clachan  
settlement.
25. South Division of Corsapool. do. do.
26. Curalach. Old organisation. (RAM)
27. Dluich. New organisation. Single farm.
28. Duisker. Old organisation. Single farm.
29. The Muir of Duisker and Balole. Old organisation.
30. Eorebus. Old organisation. Several tenants.
31. Gartachorsan. New organisation. Small holdings.
32. Gartloist. New organisation. Two small farms.
33. Gartmain. New organisation. Two small farms.
34. Gartnatra hamlet. New organisation.
35. Gleneigdale and Duich Muir Lots as laid out in divisions  
of twenty acres each for improvement. 1828.
36. Gorstanilvory and Gartloist. New organisation. Small holdings.
37. Grobus. New organisation. Small holdings.
38. East Division of Gruinard. Reorganisation into small holdings.
39. Plan of part of the Lands of Isla House, the seat of W.F. Campbell.  
New organisation and plantations.
40. Plan of the Second part of the Lands of Isla House. New organisation
41. Kintira. Old organisation. Several tenants or tack with subtenants.
42. Draft of Leorabus. Muir Lotments.
43. Leorabus Lots.
44. Lower Leorin. Old organisation. Several tenants. (RAM)
45. Upper Leorin. do. do. do.
46. Mahery. Old organisation. Tack or single farm.
47. 1st Part of Molintira. Partial reorganisation. Groups of tenants.
48. 2nd Part of Molintira. do. do.
49. Mulreish. Old organisation. Single farm.

50. Nereby. Old organisation. Several tenants.
51. Octavullin. New organisation. Single farm.
52. Persabus and Portaskaig. Old organisation. Single farm or tack.
53. Plan of Port Ellen distillery 1828. (RAM)
54. Draft of Lands of Wemysshaven (Port Wemyss) 1833.
55. Lands of Wemysshaven (Port Wemyss) 1833.
56. Improvements to Port Ellen Harbour, 1830-1848. (RAM)
57. Roskern. New organisation. Small holdings.
58. Scarabus. Old organisation. Several tenants.
59. Tallant. ?Old organisation. Several tenants.
60. Taynacrock. New organisation. Single farm.
61. Part of the Muir of Torrah improved and enclosed by John Smith and Duncan Orr. (RAM)
62. Plan of the Lands Attached to the Village of Bowmore in 1840.

1860's and 1870's. Various cartographers, mainly the Factors.

63. Port Charlotte Village Lots. 1860's.
64. Port Wemyss Village Lots. 1860's.
65. Bowmore Village Lots. 1860's.
66. Plan of the March betwixt the Properties of Charles Morrison and Kirkman Finlay Esq., from Loch Maradail to Laggan Water.
67. Ardnave. 1860's.
68. Sketches of the plantation and marches near Carabus. 1860's.
69. Carndonachy. 1860's. ?Redivision.
70. Daill Farm with Rosquern. 1864.
71. Eorabus. New division.
72. Gartmain. 1863.
73. Part of Glenmore and Gatavulich near Gearach. 1860.
74. Plan of the March between Gruinart and Leckgruinart. 1866.
75. Kilchearen. 1865.
76. Knockdon. 1867.
77. Plan of Lorgba. 1865.
78. Port Charlotte distillery farm. 1859.
79. Scarabus Farm. 1865.
80. Muir of Scarabus and Octovullin. 1860's.
81. Ardlarach Farm. 1875.
82. Bowmore House and Lot. 1872.

83. Plan of Bowmore Manse and Garden. 1870's.
84. Hand sketch of the parks about Islay House in 1871.
85. Plan of the cottage of farm labourers in the 1870's.

## C. II. ARDNAMURCHAN AND SUNART.

Unpublished private estate papers relating to the peninsula are less numerous than for Islay estates, however, there are several valuable documents relating to the time of the ownership of the peninsula by Sir James Milnes Riddell in the first half of the nineteenth century. These are now in the possession of the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland (who own most of the Sunart part of the peninsula and will be referred to throughout as the Riddell papers. They comprise

1. Rentals of 1829, 1839, 1848 to 1852.
2. Factor's notebook of 1834.  
Report by Thomas Goldie Dickson of 1852.
3. One further unpublished source is the Kilchoan Parish Register consulted by permission of the Church of Scotland.
4. The Plan and Valuation already referred to, dated 1806/1807. The Plan was executed by William Bald and is described in Appendix 2.  
The Valuation was accompanied by a Report by the Assessor, Alexander Low of Woodend.

## OTHER SOURCES.

### D. QUESTIONNAIRES.

The method of using the questionnaire together with field visit was used in the investigation of present-day agriculture in Islay and in Ardnamurchan-Sunart. Questionnaires were also used in a study of the growth of the holiday industry in Islay but are not here reproduced.

### E. FIELD EVIDENCE.

Field work was carried out in Islay in 1956, 1958 and 1960; and in Ardnamurchan and Sunart in 1958, 1959 and 1960. Many of the results of this work in the field are incorporated in figures and text in this thesis to corroborate or substantiate features which have arisen from a study of published and unpublished sources relating to landholdings and settlement in these and other areas of the western Highland seaboard.

F. OTHER PUBLISHED MAPS.

I. ISLAY.

MacDougall, S. 1749. (Smith, G.C., Book of Islay, Plate v).

II. ARDNAMURCHAN-SUNART.

Cowley, J. and Bruce, A. (Murray, Anatomy of Ardnamurchan and Sunart in 1723).

G. SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED BOOKS, ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS.

Journals and abbreviations used (as in World List of Scientific Periodicals and International Index to Periodicals).

<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Journal</u>
Acta geogr., Helsingf.	Acta Geografica
Advan. Sci.	Advancement of Science
Agric. Hist. Rev.	Agricultural History Review
Antiq.	Antiquity
	Dumlin
Donog. Ann.	Donegal Annual
Econ. Geogr.	Economic Geography
Econ. Hist. Rev.	Economic History Review
Econ. J. Econ. Hist. Supp.	Economic Journal -- Economic History Supplement.
Econ. Rev.	Economic Review
	Erdkunde
Geogr. Ann., Stockholm	Geografiska Annaler
Geogr. J.	Geographical Journal
Geogr. Mag., London	Geographical Magazine
Geogr. Rev.	Geographical Review
Geogr. Teach.	Geographical Teacher
Geography	Geography
	Gwerin
Hist.	History
Jurid. Rev.	Juridical Review
	Planning Outlook
P.S.A.S.	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Quart. J. Agric.	Quarterly Journal of Agriculture
Quart J. geol. Soc.	Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society
Scot.	Scotland
Scot. Agric.	Scottish Agriculture
Scot. Agric. Econ.	Scottish Agricultural Economics
Scot. Geog. Mag.	Scottish Geographical Magazine
Scot. Hist. Rev.	Scottish Historical Review
	Scottish Historical Society Special Publications
	Scottish Journal of Political Economy
Scot. Stud.	Scottish Studies
Sociol. Rev.	Sociological Review
	Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society
Trans. Inst. Brit. Geogr.	Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers
T.R.H.A.S.	Transactions of the Royal Highland Agricultural Society of Scotland
	Ulster Journal of Archaeology.

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APPENDIX 1.

"Islay : A Hebridean Exception."

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# ISLAY: A HEBRIDEAN EXCEPTION

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# ISLAY: A HEBRIDEAN EXCEPTION\*

MARGARET C. STORRIE

ONE group of islands somewhat neglected recently in geographical literature is the Hebrides of Scotland. In 1951 these islands contained about 54,000 people, or 1 per cent of the national population. They lie off the west coast of Highland Scotland, part of the major region comprising the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, which covers almost half of the national area but contains only 5 per cent of the population.<sup>1</sup> The fundamental problem within this region is to secure means of support for adequate living standards without excessive financial aid, either private or public. The financial allocation of the Scottish departments for Highland services generally amounts to 10 per cent of that for Scotland as a whole,<sup>2</sup> and this does not include other forms of financial aid such as National Assistance and unemployment benefits. In the mainland part of the region the problem has been alleviated to some extent by hydroelectric and forestry schemes, and by increased tourism, but on most of the islands the situation has not changed much. The islands have special problems of communication, agricultural and industrial organization, and lack of employment opportunities and social amenities, and these factors have resulted in emigration, so that in many areas the remaining population shows an unbalanced age structure. This paper examines the reasons (employment opportunities) and inducements (availability of community life, services, and amenities) that affect the ability of people to continue living in comparative isolation from the main centers of population.

## ACCESSIBILITY AND COMMUNICATIONS

The island of Islay, in the southern Inner Hebrides, is the most accessible

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\* The author, formerly assistant lecturer in geography, University of Glasgow, has been studying geographical problems in the Hebrides, and particularly in Islay, since 1956. Farm and population surveys were made in Islay in 1956 and 1958, with electoral registers as basic material. Information on Barra and South Uist was collected in 1956 and 1957, when the author took part in the Crofting Survey carried out by the Department of Geography, T<sup>1</sup> University, Glasgow, under the direction of Mr. H. A. Moisley and Dr. J. B. Caird. The author wishes to thank Professor M. J. Wise, London School of Economics, and Mr. Moisley for their encouragement and help in the preparation of this paper. Grateful acknowledgment is made to the University of Glasgow for financial assistance of field work in Islay.

<sup>1</sup> "Review of Highland Policy," [*Parliamentary Command Paper*] *Cmnd.* 785, London, 1959, p. 2. (A report of the Scottish Secretary of State to Parliament.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

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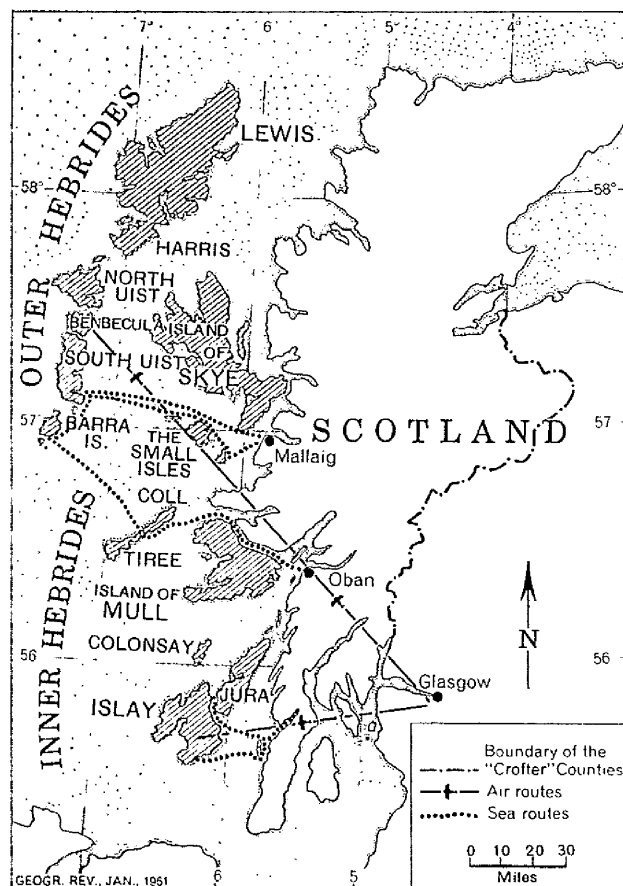


FIG. 1—Location map of the Hebrides (islands shaded), showing air and sea routes.

to the Lowlands and has always had greater ease of communication with them than the other islands. The northern parts of the Inner Hebrides, and Skye and The Small Isles, though near the Scottish mainland, are separated from the Lowlands by a long overland journey. The Outer Hebrides, consisting of the "Long Island," are the most inaccessible of all, lying well to the northwest of mainland Scotland. This basic difference in accessibility, together with an increasingly impoverished environment from the southern Inner Hebrides to the Outer Hebrides, has resulted in many differences between

Islay and the other islands in agricultural and industrial organization, in employment opportunities, and in the distribution and age structures of the populations. These differences affect the basic problem of ability to make an economic living within the area: there is, for example, a striking contrast between Islay, the southernmost of the Inner Hebrides, and the islands of South Uist<sup>3</sup> and Barra, in the southern Outer Hebrides (Fig. 1).

One of the first contrasts to be seen between Islay and the southern Outer Hebrides is the difference in degree of communication with the Lowlands, especially with Glasgow, the main center of dispersal of passengers, goods, and services for the Hebrides. The three criteria in the measurement of accessibility are length of journey, frequency of service, and cost. The first two are probably more important for passengers, the third for freight. Rail and sea travel between Islay and the mainland is more than twice as fast and

<sup>3</sup> The parish of South Uist consists of the islands of Benbecula, South Uist, and Eriskay, all of which are hereinafter termed "South Uist."

frequent, and half as expensive, as that for Barra and South Uist (Table I). Air transport is becoming increasingly more important to passengers, especially since the reduction of fares from the islands to the mainland. By air, the journey takes from two to two and one-half hours; by rail and sea it takes eight hours between Islay and Glasgow, and as much as two nights and two days between South Uist or Barra and Glasgow. From the Outer

TABLE I—TRANSPORT FROM GLASGOW TO THE HEBRIDES

	BY AIR			BY RAIL AND STEAMER <sup>a</sup>		
	Islay	South Uist	Barra	Islay	South Uist	Barra
Distance, approx. ( <i>miles</i> )	80	160	150	135	200	180
Time ( <i>hours</i> )	2.5	2	2.5	8.5	20.5	18.5
Frequency, winter	Daily	Daily	2/3 per week	Daily	Alternate days	Alternate days
Cost, round trip ( <i>pounds</i> )	6	11	11	3	7.5	7

<sup>a</sup> Rail and steamer transport is second-class; cost includes meals and berths.

Hebrides there is also the cost of additional meals and berths. For freight and livestock, rail and sea transport is still more important than air, except for high-value goods such as lobsters and cream (to London) or fruit and vegetables (from the mainland). Freight and livestock are carried on passenger services (Fig. 2), but there are also weekly cargo-steamer services from Glasgow. Islay again has cheaper costs.

Thus Islay has better communication with the mainland than South Uist and Barra, and from the seventeenth century to the present it has received a greater influx of Lowlanders and Lowland ideas. Today the island has an essentially Lowland aspect: medium-sized to large farms are dispersed among industrial and service villages. There are hardly any crofting townships. This is in strong contrast with the Outer Isles, which still present an aspect of small, sometimes unconsolidated crofts in dispersed townships. This contrast between the southern Inner Hebrides and the southern Outer Hebrides is the result of divergent evolution since the 1745 rebellion. Long afterward the Outer Hebrides remained mostly in the hands of conservative heirs of the original clan chiefs. But already the southern Inner Hebrides, nearer to rising centers of wealth in the Lowlands, were owned by a few affluent Lowlanders.

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In 1726, Islay was bought by Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, a wealthy merchant and member of Parliament. In the 1780's his grandson Walter



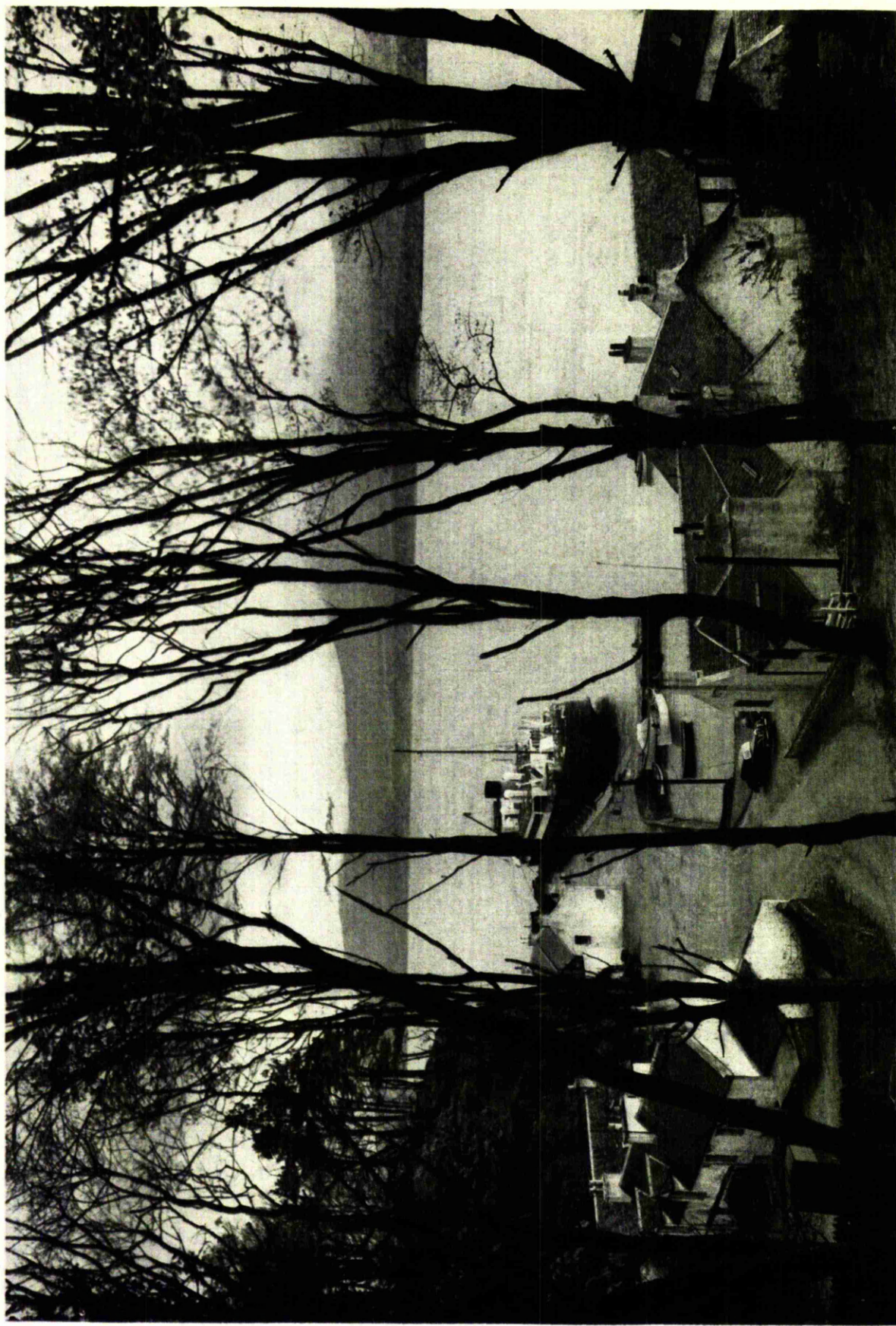


FIG. 2—R.M.S. *Lochiel* at Port Askaig. The vessel carries both passengers and cargo daily between Islay and West Loch Tarbert on the mainland, with steamer connections to Glasgow. Note the raised beach along the opposite shore at the foot of the Paps of Jura. (Photograph courtesy of *The Scots Magazine*, Dundee.)

Campbell introduced the ideas of the Agricultural Revolution, which had already spread through the Lowlands, and he also provided the practical means for the execution of these ideas. Islay and Colonsay were the first islands on which agricultural improvements were carried out.<sup>4</sup> Land reclamation, enclosure, and consolidation of holdings were accompanied by improved husbandry and by breeding of new and better stock and crops. Together these provided food for the increasing agricultural population of the early nineteenth century (Fig. 3). Food was also available for the people engaged in the kelp, fishing, linen, and distilling industries, and there was a surplus of cattle, horses, and potatoes for export.

Until the 1830's the rate of population increase which Islay could support was far higher than that in South Uist and Barra. But thereafter Islay's population decreased. The rising industrial centers of the relatively accessible Lowlands were attractive sources of employment for some of the islanders, and from this time to the present day emigration of workers from Islay has been continuous. The trade in kelp, never as important here as in the Outer Hebrides, had failed in the 1820's after the Napoleonic Wars. Fishing had declined in importance, and linen manufacturing had given way to the better-organized industry of the Lowlands. All this meant that fewer people could be supported in the 1830's and 1840's when potato disease led to crop failure and a reduced food supply. Emigration to the Lowlands continued, but many were left who were unable to support themselves. Despite the difficulties, the Campbell proprietor tried to support as many people as possible until the late 1840's by providing food, money, and work (road construction and land reclamation). But in 1848, bankrupt, he was obliged to sell the island.

To relieve population pressure, the new proprietors financially aided further emigration to the Lowlands and to North America. Gradual emigration of agricultural tenants to make way for cattle and sheep farms took place (for example, from The Oa), and most of these people emigrated to America in the late 1850's and early 1860's (Fig. 3). There was at this time less internal resettlement from cleared areas onto adjacent land in Islay than in the Outer Isles, and this is the main point of divergence between them. Instead of the subdivision of holdings in existing townships or the creation of new small holdings on poor land, which took place in the Outer Isles,

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<sup>4</sup> For details see James Macdonald: *General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides or Western Isles of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1811); Malcolm Gray: *The Highland Economy 1850-1950* (London, 1957), p. 81; Sir John Sinclair: *The Statistical Account of Scotland* (21 vols., Edinburgh, 1791-1799), Vols. 2 and 11 (1794); "New Statistical Account," Vol. 7 (1844).

agricultural holdings in Islay, with the continuing emigration of people, gradually decreased in number and increased in size. After the 1880's distilling and some fishing absorbed a further number of people. By this time most holdings in Islay were fairly substantial; there was little land congestion and overpopulation, and hardly any demand for resettlement. The legacy today is a landscape of medium-sized to large farms, several industrial villages, and only a few crofting townships.

The evolution of the Outer Hebridean landscape has been very different. Without the influx of Lowland ideas, agriculture was less efficient, and more people were required to produce food. Kelp and fishing, rather than agriculture, supported the growing population in South Uist and Barra until the 1820's. After this, kelp became less profitable, and conditions were more difficult than in Islay. In South Uist the rate of growth declined, and in Barra the population decreased (Fig. 3). There were also compulsory clearances for cattle and sheep farms in the Outer Isles. Some of the displaced people emigrated to the Lowlands and to North America, but many crowded into the remaining crofting townships or were obliged to settle on poor land unwanted by the farmers—a situation that was to have important consequences later in the century. In the Outer Isles, too, the effect of the potato famine in the 1840's was felt more severely than in Islay. These factors resulted in a sudden and more rapid decrease of population in South Uist and Barra for about two decades after 1841.

During the second half of the nineteenth century additional means of subsistence was obtained for a time through the increased prosperity of commercial fishing. This was most important in Barra, less so in South Uist, and is reflected in the population changes after 1850. Subdivision of holdings in the Outer Isles was such that by the 1880's there was severe land congestion and overpopulation, side by side with extensive areas of grazings and shootings. Thereafter, on the islands and outside, pressure of public opinion led to resettlement of many cleared lands. Between 1886 and 1956 almost all the farms in South Uist and Barra were resettled by smallholders. The first resettlements, before World War I, were mainly for crofter-fishermen; when fishing declined, the holdings were too small to support a family. After the war another burst of resettlement took place, but the available land was insufficient for the demand, and consequently holdings were again too small. Today the Outer Hebridean landscape is one of dispersed coastal settlement of excessively small holdings; there are no villages except the ports. In Islay, however, the population is dispersed in medium to large farms around the industrial villages.

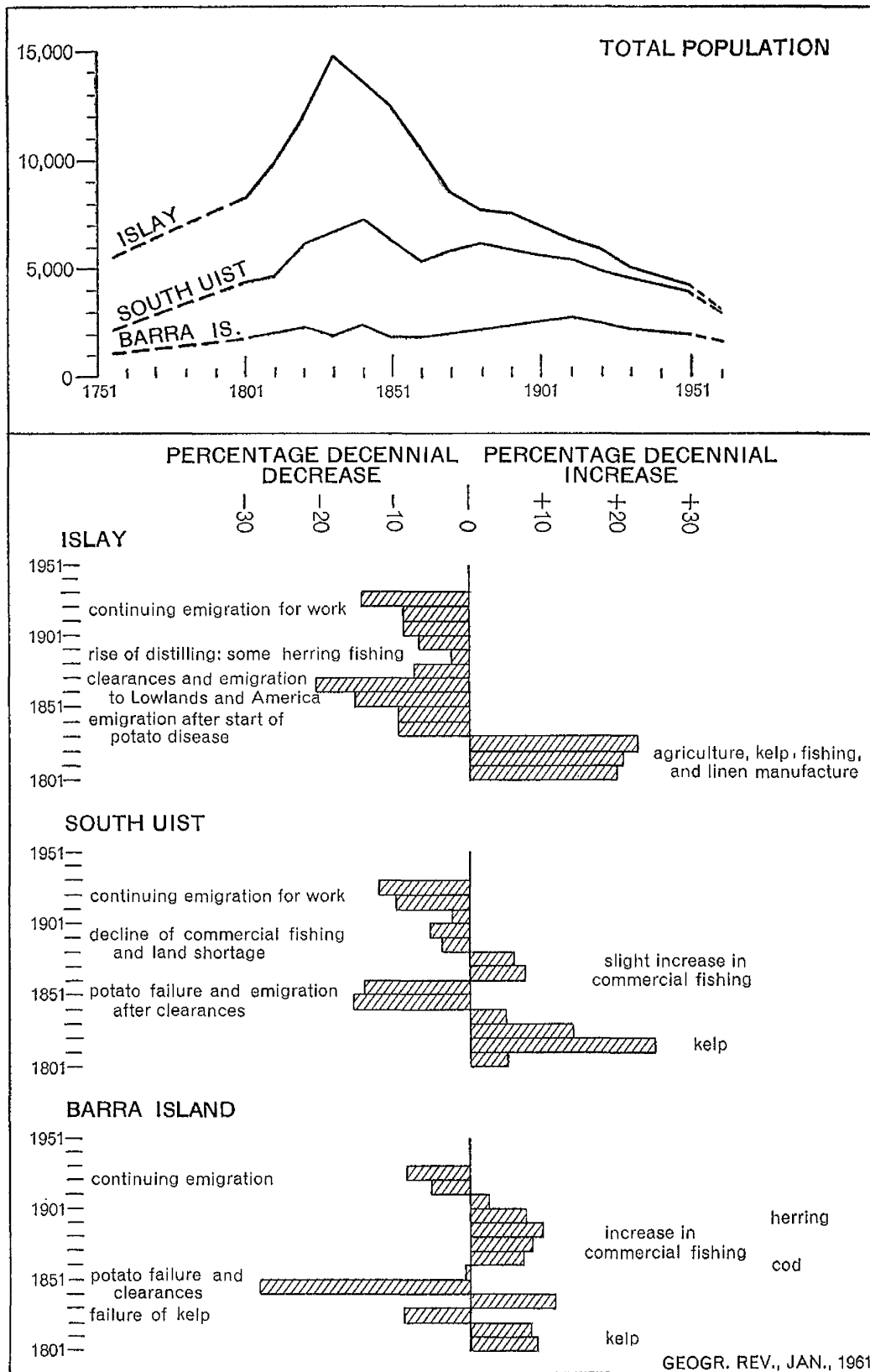


FIG. 3—Population and population change in Islay, South Uist, and Barra. Data for 1755 from MS. by the Rev. Alex. Webster in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; data for 1801–1951 from Census of Scotland.



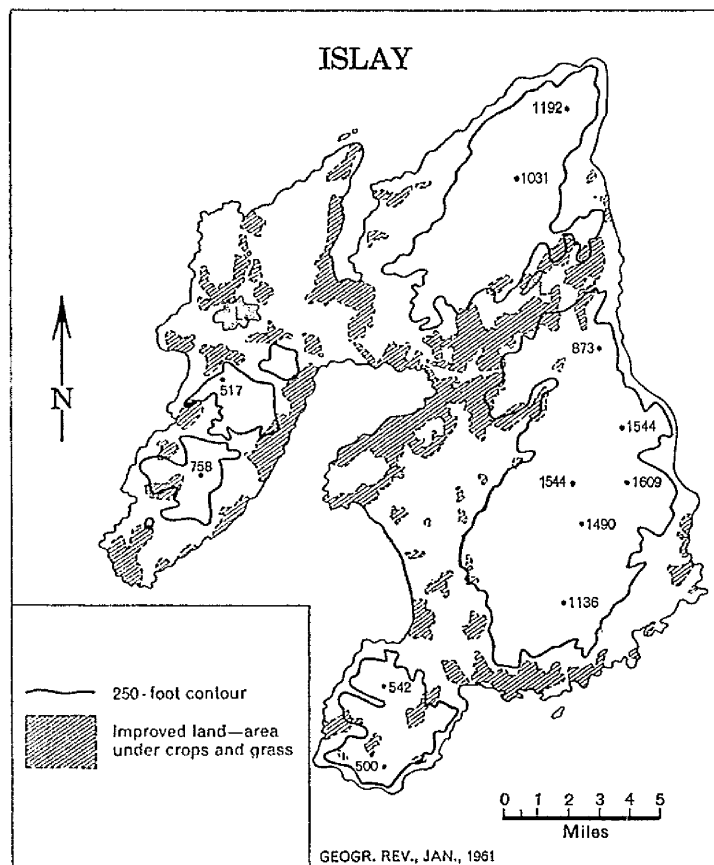
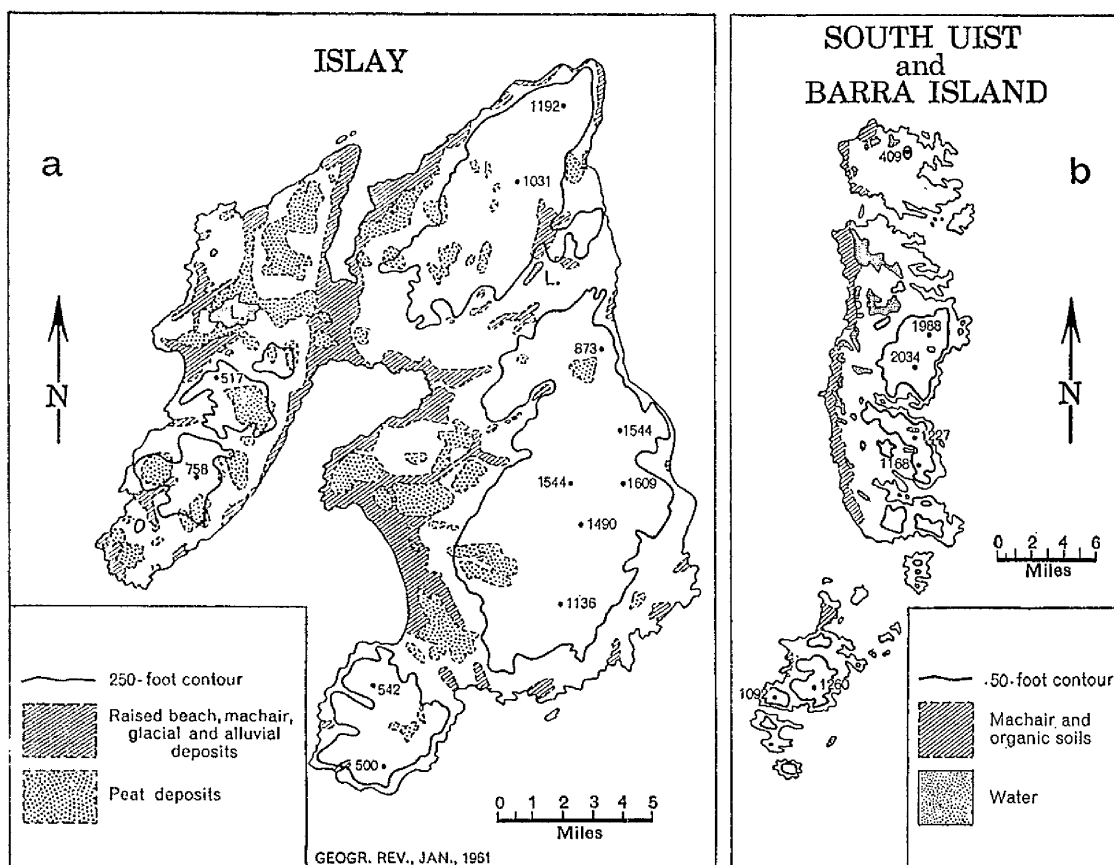


FIG. 4—Surface features of (a) Islay and (b) South Uist and Barra. (Fig. 4b after map compiled by Mr. H. A. Moisley.)

FIG. 5—Improved land in Islay.

## AGRICULTURAL LAND USE

In the physical basis for agricultural development Islay is better endowed than South Uist and Barra. Except for the quartzite of the high northern and eastern hills, its varied rocks disintegrate more easily into soil-forming materials than the Lewisian gneiss of the Outer Isles does. The slates and phyllites underlying much of the rest of the island provide the best areas for agricultural use, especially where interrupted by bands of limestone. Limestone is absent in South Uist and Barra, but is quarried in Islay to provide ground limestone for field application and for external house decoration. But, of more value in land utilization, there is in Islay a varied and in many places extensive mantle of superficial deposits, the most important of which are well-drained raised-beach deposits, river alluvium, and boulder clay (Fig. 4a). This is again in contrast with the Outer Isles, where raised beaches and boulder clay are less widespread. The soils formed on these surface deposits are acidic in reaction as a result of the persistent rainfall. Nevertheless, where well drained and limed, they provide fairly large areas of improved land in Islay (Fig. 5). Where drainage is poor, peat bogs are found, but these occupy a smaller area in Islay relative to improved land than in South Uist and Barra. These islands consist principally, from west to east (Fig. 4b), of excessively alkaline machair and organic soils, used for the cultivation of poor grain crops and for winter grazing; excessively acidic, poorly drained peaty soils, mainly under grass that forms poor grazing; and, above 250 feet, almost bare and rocky uplands of Lewisian gneiss, which provide sparse pasture. Each of these categories requires special attention to give improved cultivation and grazing, but the difficulties of crofting-township management hinder such improvements and result in a quality of land even poorer than is necessary.

The differences in size of holding and physical endowment, and also in agricultural management, are reflected to some extent in land utilization and numbers of stock (Table II). The superior quality and better management of the land in Islay are evidenced by the fact that 50 per cent of the area under crops and grass is in arable rotation; the percentages for South Uist and Barra are 29 and 15 respectively. Moreover, in Islay much of the remaining 50 per cent under permanent grass consists of former arable land, well drained and providing good pasture. Although Islay has the same total area under crops and grass as South Uist, it requires less than two acres to provide food per head of cattle, whereas about three are required in South Uist and Barra. With respect to sheep stocking, it may at first sight appear that in Islay the ability to support sheep is not as great as in the Outer Isles,

TABLE II—LAND UTILIZATION

	ISLAY (1958)	SOUTH UIST (1956)	BARRA (1957)
1. Total acreage in crops and grass <sup>a</sup>	18,856	18,641	3,015
2. Acreage in crops and grass per head of rural population	8.8	7.0	2.1
3. Total number of cattle, exclusive of calves <sup>a</sup>	10,083	6,002	1,124
4. Approx. acreage in crops and grass per head of cattle <sup>a</sup>	1.8	3.2	2.7
5. Acreage in rough grazing <sup>a</sup>	120,551	62,998	20,496
6. Total number of breeding ewes <sup>a</sup>	27,289	19,017	6,744
7. Approx. acreage in rough grazing per ewe <sup>a</sup>	4.4	3.3	3.0
8. Number of agricultural units <sup>b</sup>	180	558	331
9. Number of persons employed full time in agriculture <sup>b</sup>	430	226	43
10. Average number of cattle shipped per year <sup>c</sup>	12.4	2.4	1.2
11. Average number of sheep shipped per year <sup>c</sup>	70.0	2.3	3.2

<sup>a</sup> Unpublished parish statistics, Department of Agriculture for Scotland.

<sup>b</sup> Figures from personal and Crofting Survey research. An agricultural unit may be regarded as the area worked by one tenant or owner.

<sup>c</sup> Figures from David MacBrayne Ltd.

TABLE III—A SAMPLE OF ISLAY FARMS\*

TYPE OF FARM	AVERAGE ACREAGE		AVERAGE NUMBER			NUMBERS EMPLOYED FULL TIME IN AGRICULTURE PER UNIT
	Per agricul- tural unit <sup>a</sup>	Under cultivation	Dairy cattle	Hill cattle	Breeding ewes	
Dairy	300	64	18	—	—	2
Dairy and sheep	900	138	29	—	147	3
Mixed	1,130	190	26	32	196	3
Hill cattle and sheep	1,760	110	—	25	360	3
Sheep	several thousands	—	—	—	500 to 800	1 to 2

\* Sample consists of 60 per cent of the farms.

<sup>a</sup> For definition see Table II, footnote b.

but this is really because sheep overstocking is rampant in the latter. Whereas Islay had 2.7 ewes per head of cattle in 1957, South Uist and Barra had 3 and 6 respectively. In 1913 there was virtually a balance between sheep and cattle in the Outer Hebrides, the corresponding figures being 2.9 and 0.7 and 0.75. But the superior quality of the Islay grazings was even more apparent, since Islay required only 2.9 acres to support one ewe, whereas South Uist and Barra required 6.2 and 7 acres respectively.

There are five main types of farm in Islay (Fig. 6 and Table III) besides the few smaller crofts, holdings, and lots. Some of the farms are tenanted, some owner-occupied (Fig. 7), some managed. Each has different requirements of land, accessibility, and labor. The quality of land and size of holding affect the area of improved land and the numbers of stock carried on each unit, and hence its ability to support full-time or part-time occupation for a family, or perhaps only for an old couple. In Islay more than two people were fully occupied per average agricultural unit, whereas in South Uist

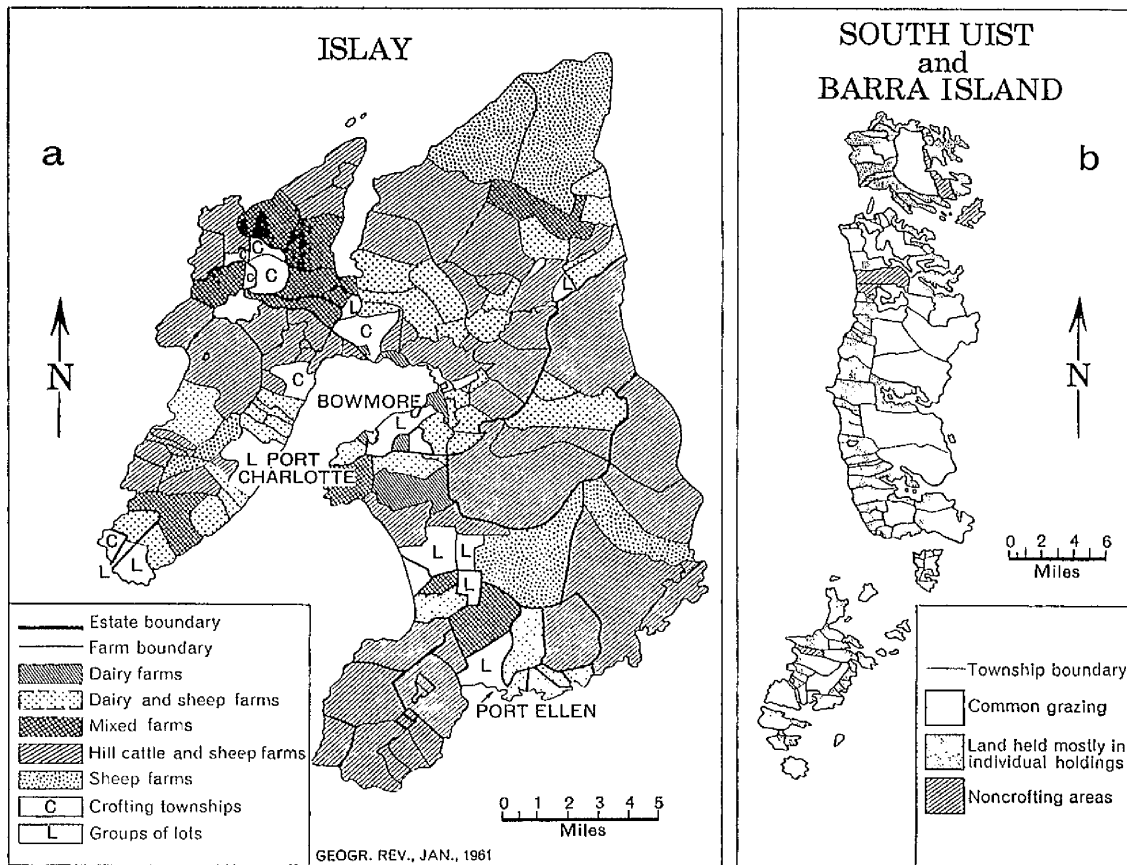


FIG. 6—Land use and tenure on (a) Islay and (b) South Uist and Barra. (Fig. 6b after map compiled by J. B. Caird.)

only one unit in two, and in Barra one in eight, provided full-time occupation.

The dairy farms are the smallest, though even they have an average of about twenty cows. They are situated on the best arable land on the raised beaches and river alluvium, and all have access to main roads, water, and electricity supplies. Milk is retailed in the villages or is sent to the cheese creamery established in 1942 in disused distillery premises at Port Charlotte (Fig. 9). Surplus young stock are sold. The presence of the creamery is another contrast with South Uist and Barra, where not enough milk is produced for local consumption, partly owing to insufficient dairy facilities, and bottled milk is brought from Oban. The main dairy breeds in Islay are Ayrshire and Friesian; there are some Jerseys. The dairy-and-sheep farms are usually farther inland and contain some rough pasture; in less accessible parts the dairying is subordinate to the sheep raising. Income is derived from the sale of milk and young cattle, wool, and lambs. Blackface ewes are crossed with Border Leicester rams to produce cross lambs for sale.





FIG. 7—Dunlossit House, residence of Mr. H. B. Schroeder, proprietor of Dunlossit Estate, Islay.



FIG. 8—The old and the new. A television aerial surmounts the thatched roof of a cottage in the village of Bowmore.



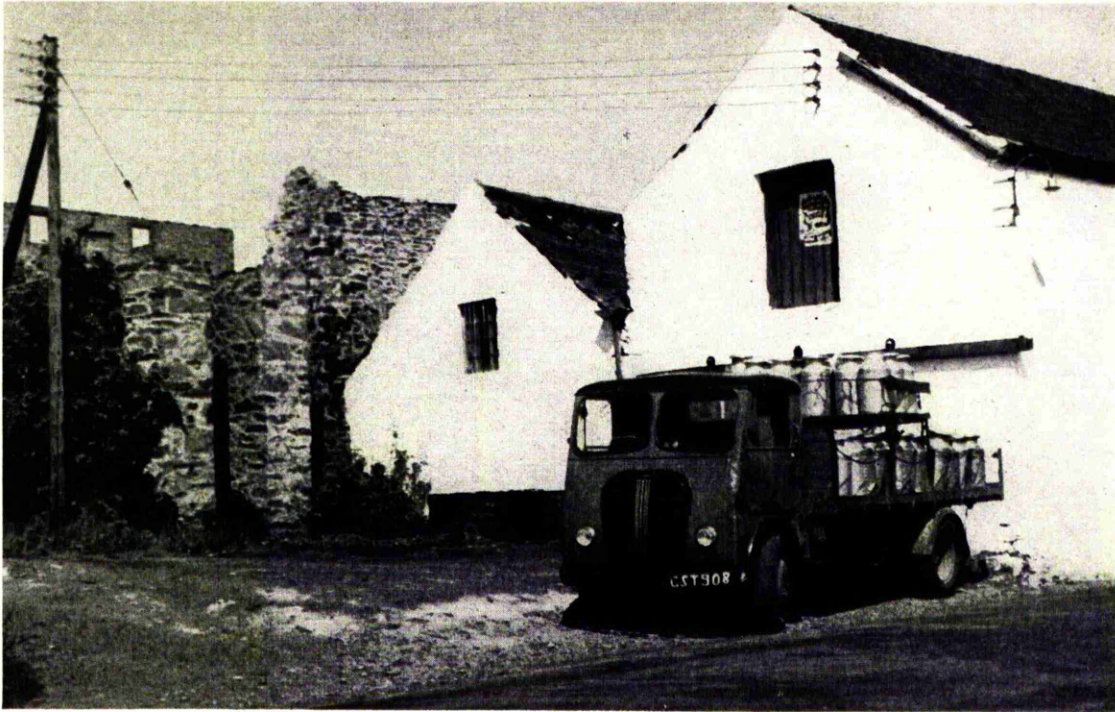


FIG. 9—Milk-collection lorry unloading full cans at the creamery in Port Charlotte.



FIG. 10—Banks of cut peat for use in a distillery. These heaps line each side of the main road between Bowmore and Port Ellen for several miles.

The mixed farms are larger and occupy good soils on the raised beaches and in the machair, alluvial, and lime-rich areas; they have some rough pasture. Emphasis varies from farm to farm, but sheep with dairy, store, and even beef cattle are kept. Many kinds of hill cattle have been introduced to the island in recent years, and with periodic changes in farm tenants, various experiments are tried. Aberdeen Angus, Galloway, Irish Blue-Gray,

TABLE IV—SELECTED TOWNSHIPS IN SOUTH UIST AND BARRA\*

ISLAND	AGRICULTURAL UNITS <sup>a</sup>	AVERAGE ACREAGE			AVERAGE NUMBER		FULL-TIME CROFTERS
		Inbye land and machair	Under cultivation	In common pasture	Cows	Ewes	
<i>Barra</i>							
Township A	30	2	1	31	0.5	13	0
Township B	23	13	4	69	1	13	4
<i>South Uist</i>							
Township C	9	26	2	19	1.5	6	5
Township D	10	78.5	10	340	6	23	4

\* Figures for Barra are for 1957; for South Uist, for 1956 and 1957.

<sup>a</sup> For definition see Table II, footnote *b*.

and Shorthorn thrive alongside the pure and crossbred Highlander, in contrast with the ubiquitous cross-Shorthorn cattle of the Hebrides.

The hill cattle-and-sheep farms are much larger; they consist mostly of hill grazing but have some arable land and permanent pasture. Young cattle for Lowland rearing, wool, and lambs are sold. The largest farms are the sheep farms in the interior of the island, with mainly pure Blackface flocks. There is a permanent shepherd shortage, and these farms are still being enlarged by amalgamation.

In addition to the farms, there are in Islay several small holdings, crofts, and village lots. The figure of 481 crofts recorded for Islay in the "West Highland Survey"<sup>5</sup> is high and must include not only the twenty crofts registered on the current Valuation Roll but also the minute lots around the villages. Many of the crofts and small holdings are not worked; the others become small stock-raising and sheep farms by amalgamation or subletting. Subletting is prevalent on the lots of land reclaimed from peat around the villages of Bowmore (Fig. 11), Port Charlotte, Port Ellen (Fig. 12), Portnahaven, and Port Wemyss. In Bowmore, for example, there are at present 116 lots rented by twenty-two tenants, but only three keep stock. These are the village dairymen who work groups of sublet crofts to provide milk for the village population of nonagricultural workers and holiday makers. These lots are, in fact, more akin to urban allotments for dairying on the mainland.

<sup>5</sup> F. F. Darling, edit.: *West Highland Survey: An Essay in Human Ecology* (London, 1955), p. 252.

In the Outer Hebrides the small average size of holdings and the small area cultivated (Table IV) are reflected in the small amount of stock and produce available for sale per unit. The area occupied by all the holdings of one township in the southern Outer Hebrides is comparable with that occupied by one farm in Islay (Fig. 6). In Barra the ability of the agricultural units to support full-time (agricultural) occupation ranges from nil in township A to four out of twenty-three in township B. The figures for South Uist are somewhat larger, and the ability to give full-time support slightly greater. But, in general, the small size of holdings in the Outer Isles (in Lewis with Harris holdings are even smaller than in Barra and South Uist) leads to underemployment.

#### THE NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT

Full-time employment and specialization of labor are desirable objectives in relation to the fundamental problem of ability to provide for an adequate standard of living. Islay is an island of full-time specialized occupations. Of the total working population (male and female), 35 per cent are engaged in full-time agriculture, a much higher percentage than for the Outer Isles, and a negligible percentage are employed in periodic, part-time agricultural work. Thus the high percentage of 65 are employed in other full-time work. Of the men of working age, agriculture occupies 39.5 per cent, and whisky distilling, the next most important single occupation, occupies 17 per cent. Since the late eighteenth century the large areas of peat and the peat-impregnated waters of the streams have been utilized in the commercial production of whisky. Originally, locally grown bere barley (four-rowed) was dried over peat-fired and peat-smoking kilns; now barley is imported from England and Australia, and though the malted barley is still dried over smoking peat (to give the distinctive flavor of "heavy malt" whisky), the fuel for heating is Lowland coal. It is noteworthy that the once numerous distilleries of Campbeltown, on the mainland, are now reduced to two plants, whereas in Islay there are still seven distilleries producing whisky for blending and for export. Another plant is used as a bonded store, and yet another for malting. This survival in Islay has been due mainly, though not entirely, to the production of its specialized heavy malt whisky, much in demand to blend with lighter whiskies for export. The remaining 41.0 per cent of the employed men in Islay are craftsmen (10.6), those connected with the general service industries (12.5) or with government services (7.2), seamen and lobster fishermen (2.0), laborers (6.0), and professional men (2.7). The percentage of unemployed men varies around 2.5.





FIG. 11—Bowmore, the "capital" of Islay, is a planned village, built in 1768. Each house has a garden as well as an allotment outside the village. Note round church in foreground. (Photograph courtesy of George Outram and Co., Ltd., Glasgow.)



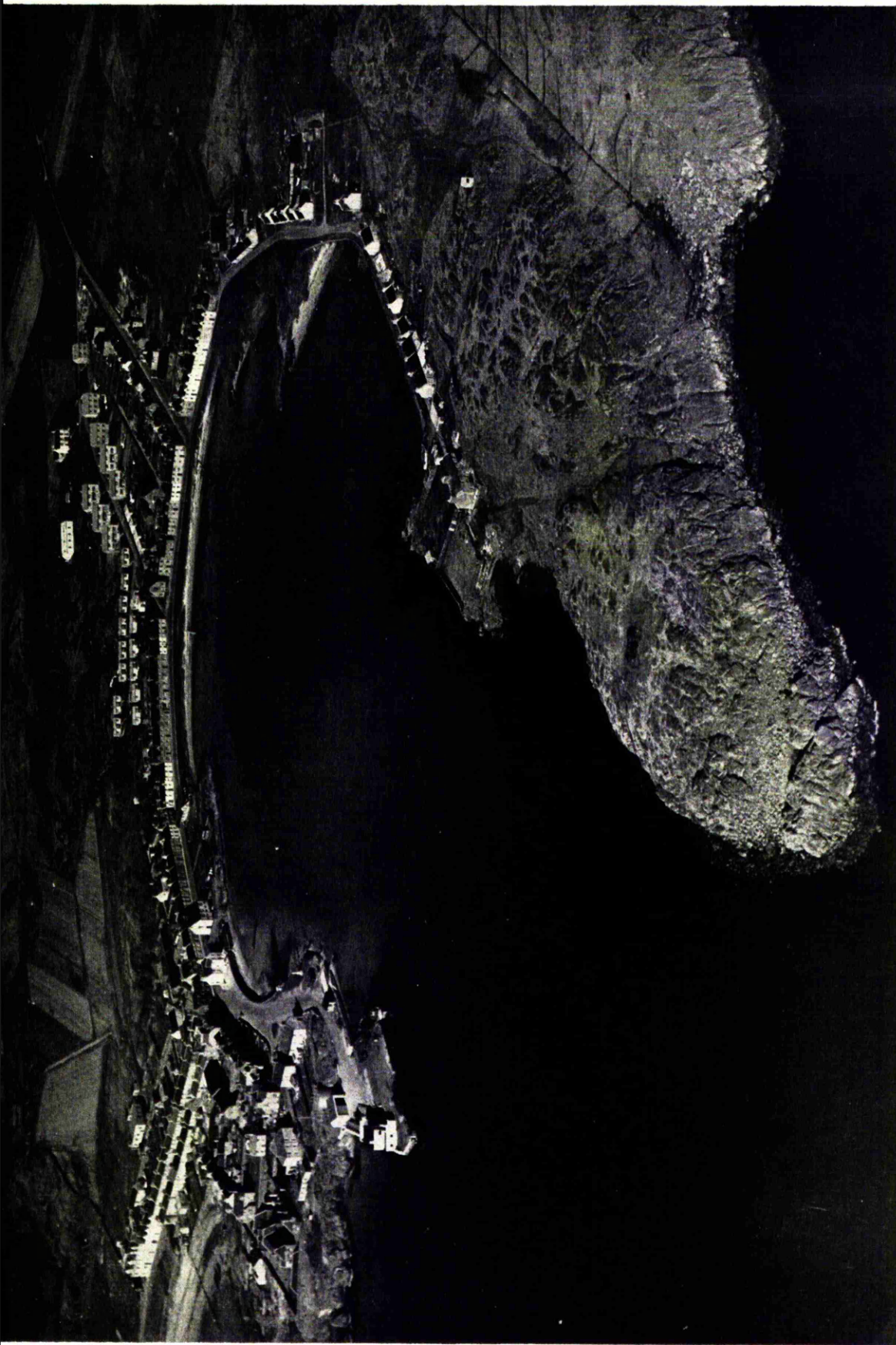


FIG. 12—Port Ellen is the principal port in Islay at present. The village exhibits an early nineteenth century building plan. (Photograph courtesy of George Outram and Co., Ltd., Glasgow.)

In South Uist,<sup>6</sup> only 25 per cent of the men are employed full time in agriculture, but 33.5 per cent are part-time workers. Of the latter, two-thirds have other regular employment—for example, tweed weaving, seaweed processing, post-office work—and the rest take employment when it is available, as roadmen, laborers, dockers, and so on. In Barra, the corresponding percentages are 15.5, 19, and 21. The remaining 30.5 and 31.5 per cent of the employed men in South Uist and Barra respectively are engaged in the service industries, laboring, crafts, and professions.

There remains, for each island, a percentage of unemployed, which is especially high in South Uist and Barra. On the average, in Islay, 2.5 per cent of the men are unemployed, though there is seasonal variation. For South Uist and Barra the percentages are 11 and 13. On the latter islands, also, underemployment is concealed in the categories "Full-time" and "Part-time" Agricultural Occupation, since the agricultural and other work undertaken by these men rarely occupies a full day.

Employment opportunities for women are few on the islands, apart from the service industries, domestic work, and the professions. Of women between 15 and 64 years of age, only 23.9 per cent in Islay, 16.0 per cent in South Uist, and 10.0 per cent in Barra have jobs, and some of these are seasonal. Today many women desire employment after marriage, but the national percentage (16) of married women who work is far higher than the island percentage. Girls leaving school, seasonally unemployed single women, and married women could all be available for work on the islands. Instead, many have to seek employment on the mainland. More women than men emigrate to find work. In the age group 15 to 44, men outnumber women in Islay (112 to 100) and South Uist (110 to 100), but in Barra there are only 80 men for each 100 women, owing to the presence of the families of absentee Merchant Navy men.

The critical question, however, is the extent to which employment on the islands provides support for all the people belonging to island families. In Islay, 37 per cent of the total population work there, and 5.7 per cent find employment outside. The percentages for South Uist are 23.8 at home and 15.4 away (mainly in the Merchant Navy, hydroelectricity schemes, domestic services, and nursing). Barra, on the other hand, has work for only 14.5 per cent, and the high percentage of 28 work outside. Thus in supporting their families private financial aid from outside—that is, money

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<sup>6</sup> Employment figures for South Uist and Barra are based on Table 18 in the report "Park: A Geographical Study of a Lewis Crofting District" by J. B. Caird and members of the Geographical Field Group (Department of Geography, The University, Glasgow [1959?]), opposite p. 37.

sent back by members of the families working away—is much more important to South Uist and Barra than to Islay. Also, there is probably more direct and indirect government aid allocated to communities and individuals in the Outer Isles.

In addition to improved agricultural organization, two main opportunities exist for reducing unemployment and underemployment, especially for women. Expansion of the light industries and of the holiday industry would provide increased employment for both men and women, and Islay has greater advantages than the Outer Isles in these two spheres. As has already been noted with regard to whisky, if a market can be created for a particular product, Islay is at no greater disadvantage than several isolated mainland areas that have agreed under the Housing and Town Development (Scotland) Act of 1957 to accept industrial and population overspill from Lowland Scotland.<sup>7</sup> Air access to Glasgow for managerial staff is at least as easy from Islay as transport from Stranraer, Campbeltown, Bute, Invergordon, or Wick. Freight rates and frequency of service by air, coupled with low rents and county levies for services, are important factors in the production of high-value lightweight articles such as machine-made knitwear, tweed, light engineering products, and even holiday souvenirs. These commodities could be manufactured by female labor without necessarily interfering with full-time male employment. Islay has the further advantage of being mainly English-speaking, and it has long been integrated with Lowland ways of thinking and living. But, as with the dispersal of industry throughout Scotland generally, individual will and effort are required to take the step of introducing employment opportunities in industry, and the further step of encouraging immigration. For the Outer Hebrides, of course, isolation is a great disadvantage.

The holiday industry offers another opportunity for increasing employment possibilities. For those who seek a holiday far from man-made attractions, the islands provide many pleasures. The alternation of rocky headlands and long stretches of machair sands produces a kaleidoscopic scene, varied even more by the quickly changing weather, and unique in Britain. Hotel and private domestic work and the service industries could employ more island women, and building and reconstruction of accommodations and increased services would employ more men. Improvements in internal movement within the islands would mean more social amenities for both islanders and visitors. Again Islay is favored, since two-thirds of the population live in villages (Fig. 13), where it is easier to provide services and

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<sup>7</sup> See Glasgow Corporation pamphlet "Industry on the Move," 1959.



amenities, and also better accommodation for visitors. The village of Port Ellen, for example, is a center for playing fields, coach tours, film shows, concerts, ceilidhs, and dances. During the past few years the number of holiday makers to Islay has been increasing. The number of guests in hotels and boardinghouses rose from 2000 in 1953 to more than 3000 in 1956. It is difficult to estimate the number staying in private houses or with relatives;

TABLE V—AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION  
(In percentages)

ISLAND	0-15 YEARS	15-64	OVER 65	TOTAL
<i>Living on the islands</i>				
Islay (1958)	21	62	17	100 (= 3197)
South Uist (1956)	29	56	15	100 (= 3171)
Barra (1957)	33	49	18	100 (= 1419)
Scotland (1951)	25	65	10	100 (= approx. 5 million)
<i>Belonging to the islands</i>				
Islay	20	64	16	100 (= 3388)
South Uist	24	63	13	100 (= 3775)
Barra	24	63	13	100 (= 1977)
Scotland	25	65	10	100 (= approx. 5 million)

nevertheless, the holiday industry is clearly of increasing importance in Islay. This industry has so far been less well developed in the Outer Isles, owing to greater inaccessibility and lack of accommodations and amenities in these areas of dispersed settlement.

#### AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

The question remains whether the population forms a "viable community," capable of regenerating itself, and of providing social amenities within its own group. Age groups and settlement distribution are pertinent factors. A preponderance of old people produces insufficient social life to attract younger people, even if work is available. Too few people of working age mean too few children.

All three islands have higher percentages of old people than Scotland as a whole (Table V), but the most salient feature is that Islay is the only one of the three which approaches the national figure for people of working age when this group is limited to those living on the islands. However, with respect to those in the working-age group *belonging to* island families, including those who work away, Barra and South Uist as well as Islay approach the national figure. The percentage of young people is lower in Islay, and higher in the Outer Isles, than the Scottish percentage. Emigration from Islay is more nearly permanent; young people leave the island, settle, and raise their families in the Lowlands, returning only for holidays. In

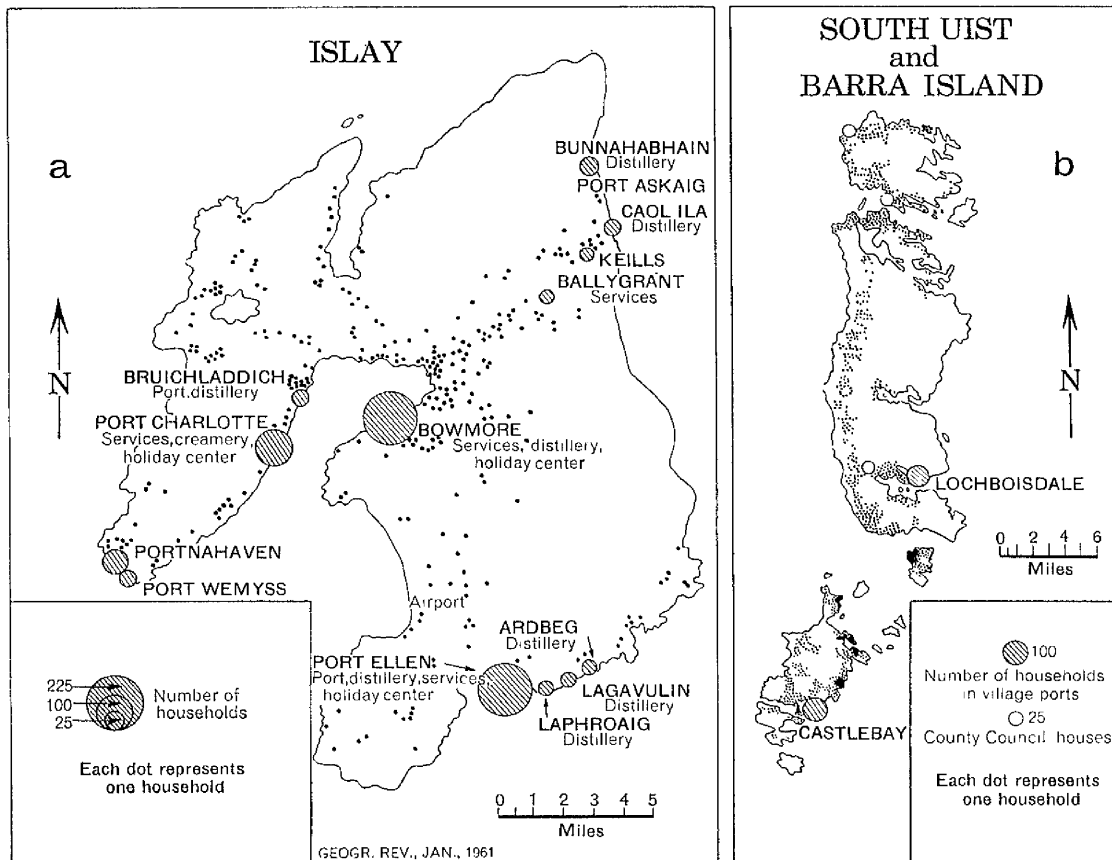


FIG. 13—Settlements in (a) Islay and (b) South Uist and Barra. (Fig. 13b is based on individual "six-inch" records of the Crofting Survey.)

South Uist and Barra many of the men are away for work, but their families still live on the islands; there is thus on these islands an unbalanced proportion of young people, increased by the larger families characteristic of a predominantly Roman Catholic region.

The age structure of the population in Islay is more likely to make for a viable social group than that in South Uist and Barra. In addition, 66 per cent of the population live in villages, which are more conducive to social activities than dispersed settlements are (Fig. 13). Some of the villages—for example, Ardbeg, Lagavulin, Laphroaig, Bruichladdich, Caol Ila, and Bunnahabhain—still consist almost solely of the distillery premises and the manager's and workers' houses. The others have expanded into service and tourist centers; for example, Bowmore, Port Ellen, and Port Charlotte. But throughout Islay employment, accommodations, utilities, and educational, shopping, and social facilities are fairly easily available. South Uist and Barra form a strong contrast. The population is dispersed, though congested, and there is only one village-port on each island—Lochboisdale, with

6 per cent of the Uist population; and Castlebay, with 21 per cent of the Barra population. Water and electricity are only now being made available.

In accessibility, physical endowment, agricultural organization, employment opportunities, age structure and distribution of the population, and amenities, Islay is indeed more favored than the Outer Hebrides. It appears to have greater possibilities for successful living at adequate standards without excessive financial aid, private or official. Yet since 1951 there has been a 25 per cent net decline in population—an average of more than 100 persons a year. This rate is higher than that for South Uist or Barra, from which many of the young people have already emigrated, and in which the large proportion of old people results in a lower rate of emigration.<sup>8</sup> The pull of the Lowlands continues, whether for better employment opportunities, especially for women, or for greater amenities, again especially for women. In Islay adequate living standards can be maintained at present without excessive financial aid. But to prevent further depopulation, a greater choice of full-time occupation is necessary, especially for couples of child-bearing age. There is a national need for increased food production, and for industrial dispersion and population overspill from the overcrowded Lowlands. There is also increased leisure and money available for vacations. Each of these can be applied to the problem of unemployment and underemployment on the islands, and with greater facility in Islay than on most of the other Hebridean islands.<sup>9</sup>

In the case of Islay, this study of Hebridean contrasts may serve to substantiate the policy of the bodies interested in the Highlands and Islands. This policy<sup>10</sup> is to promote economic growth in the region by increasing the scope and choice of employment and amenities, in the hope of retaining or establishing viable communities with modern standards of living and opportunities for *useful* employment. In the Outer Isles the problem is rather different, since many of the people still cannot make a living without outside financial aid. The remedy there must be longer-term to permit agricultural reorganization and improvements, with subsidiary developments in the light industries and the holiday industry. This will result in a population smaller in numbers but with a better balance of age structure, more capable of making an economic living within the area and of being a living instead of a dying community.

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<sup>8</sup> A more exact comparison of rates of emigration is difficult, since the 1951 census figures are not really comparable for Islay and the Outer Isles.

<sup>9</sup> Skye is a possible exception; it is united by ferry to the mainland but is still far from the Lowlands.

<sup>10</sup> "Review of Highland Policy" [see footnote 1 above], p. 1.

**APPENDIX 2.**

"William Bald's Plan of Ardnamurchan and Sunart, 1807."

Reprinted from Scottish Studies, 1961, Vol. 5, Part 1, pages 112-117.

*A NOTE ON  
WILLIAM BALD'S PLAN OF  
ARDNAMURCHAN AND SUNART, 1807*

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Margaret C. Storrie

*Reprinted from*

SCOTTISH STUDIES

Volume 5, Part 1, pp. 112-117, 1961

*A Note on William Bald's plan of Ardnamurchan and Sunart, 1807*

An interesting example of an early nineteenth-century plan of a West Highlands estate has recently come to light in the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland's office in Oban. The peninsular estate of Ardnamurchan and Sunart in northern Argyll was surveyed in 1806 and 1807 by William Bald who compiled the map to accompany a Valuation of the estate for the proprietor, Sir James Milles Riddell, Bt. The ms. of the Valuation is still extant, and in it, the Assessor, Alexander Low of Woodend, remarks on the present situation of each land holding, and adds suggestions for future changes. From the map and Valuation, Sir James hoped to proceed with some of the agricultural improvements in land distribution and husbandry which had previously spread over the Lowlands, and had already penetrated the southern fringes of the Highlands and Islands. These documents together present a finely-drawn portrait of one of many similar West Highland estates which were at this time undergoing, or about to enter, a period of transition. This change was from the old order of large tacks and unlotted runrig townships (with periodic or fixed strips) to the new one of large grazing farms and lotted townships. There was usually a corresponding redistribution of settlement from clustered clachans to linear or dispersed patterns of buildings.

On a scale of 5.35 inches to one mile, the whole plan measures twelve feet from north to south, and seven and a half from west to east. It has, however, been divided into sections, each mounted on cloth and folded. The state of preservation is remarkably good, considering both its age and its chequered history after the estate passed from the hands of the bankrupt Sir James in 1848. One of the present proprietors of Sunart is the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland in whose possession the map, Valuation and various other estate documents now lie and to whom we are indebted for their permission to reproduce sections of the map (Pls. IV and V).

Cartographically, the map presents a very pleasing appearance, whilst retaining accuracy of detail. Even now, after a

century and a half, the multi-coloured washes indicating the boundaries and improved lands of different holdings, still provide a colourful fringe to the rather sombre grey tones of the rest of this rocky and mountainous peninsula. Black ink has been used only sparingly, except in lettering, figuring, delimitation of boundaries and tree symbols. Pictorial effect derives chiefly from the extremely skilful use of the paint-brush with various shades and tones of water colour. The physical appearance of the higher areas, forming unimproved pasture land, is graphically illustrated. Summits of the highest hills and ridges, in a light grey, are made the more prominent by the use of very much darker tones simulating hill-shading, for the breaks of slope below. Brush-strokes, rather like hachures, indicate degree of slope. In this way too, the sides of gulleys are emphasised. The rivers themselves, and other water features are drawn and coloured in blue. Superb cliff representation enhances the long and indented coastline.

But the greatest detail and variety of interest are to be found in those areas used by man for cultivation, pasture or mining. The boundary of each farm or township is given a specific colour which is repeated in the plots of improved ground within the holding. Each patch is allocated a number and acreage, and these are listed in an accompanying key. Beside each entry in the key, the annotation "arable-spade", "arable-plough", "pasture", or "planting" is recorded. It is perhaps unfortunate that the first three of these categories of land utilisation are not usually coloured separately on the map. Some of the patches of cultivated land are outlined in red, which may represent a dyke or enclosure, but this is not clear. Three of the four main elements comprising the West Highland landscape of the time are depicted:

- (i) the large tacks and grazing farms rented usually by one tenant. Occasionally these may be worked by groups of sub-tenants or cottars living in clusters or clachans on the farm.
- (ii) the townships of joint tenants with undifferentiated holdings held in runrig (with periodic or fixed strips), and living in clachans.
- (iii) the townships of tenants living on individually lotted holdings resulting in dispersed settlements.

The fourth element, found sporadically elsewhere in the West



A section of William Bald's plan of Ardnamurchan and Sunart, 1807. For details  
*see p. 116.*





A further section of William Bald's plan of Ardnamurchan and Sunart, 1807.  
For details see p. 117.

Highlands and Islands, that of the planned estate village, is missing in this peninsula.

The large tacks and grazing farms comprised less of the total area at that time than in many West Highland estates. In Ardnamurchan, the western part of the peninsula, only four such holdings are shown, but Sunart to the east has a higher proportion of large sheep walks along the more inaccessible southern shores of Loch Shiel. The improved land on these holdings is usually grouped into fair-sized fields, but only a few of these are enclosed. Farm buildings are not infrequently surrounded by the then recently introduced woodlands and plantations.

The unlotted townships comprise most of the area depicted on the map. Each contains two categories of land, improved arable and pasture, and unimproved rough grazing, both usually held in common (see Pls. IV and V). Due to the highly irregular nature of the peninsula, the arable land is often to be seen scattered in small patches, capable of cultivation only by spade. Settlements are clustered closely together near the greatest area of arable land, water supply, or kelp-producing shore. One's eye is quickly drawn to these clachans on the map, each building being coloured in red.

There was only one lotted township in the whole peninsula in 1807, that of Ardnastang, though in the Valuation, the Assessor points to many townships which could well be lotted to provide fewer tenants with a better living from the land. In Ardnastang at the mouth of the Strontian valley, each tenant's several contiguous plots are allocated the same number, (unlike the serially numbered patches in the unlotted townships) and arable and pasture land is separately distinguished. Already at this time, dwellings are built on each individual holding.

The two other features of human occupation depicted are the lead mines and the roads. The various tracts of land and the major lead veins therein, leased to different mining companies, are accurately marked. Roads to the mines, and to most of the townships, often more numerous than those of today, are drawn and coloured in red.

The map and Valuation together provide a valuable impression of the extent of improved land, and of the distribution of settlement in Ardnamurchan and Sunart before the main clearances for farms and shooting forests, and redistribution of land holdings and people took place. The greatest

changes have occurred in the former unlotted townships. In some cases, the improved land was lotted out into individual holdings in the nineteenth or even the twentieth centuries. These holdings were often rectangular in form, stretching upwards from the valley-bottom or sea-shore (e.g. Anaheilt, Fig. 2). Population moved on to the individual holdings, and a linear or dispersed pattern of settlement replaced the old cluster. In other cases, where greater variation in quality of land occurred, the runrig holdings became fixed, and each holding still consists at the present day of several non-adjacent strips of land, with buildings set up on one of the plots. Such is the township of Kilmory (Pl. IV). Similar scattered strip holdings occur in Ockle (Ochkill, Pl. IV), but the old clustered form of settlement has remained. The only other clachan remaining is that of Achnaha in Ardnamurchan, in which township the 60-odd strips belonging to each tenant were reallocated into individual holdings during the First World War.

In other cases, the former townships were cleared of population and stock to make way for large sheep walks, and they remain as hill farms today (e.g. Swordlechorrach, Swordlemore and Swordlehuel in Fig. 1 are now one farm, Swordle. Another element, characteristic of much of the West Highland area after the late nineteenth century, was added to the Sunart landscape after World War I, when the two large farms of Ranachan and Drimnatorran were broken up and each resettled as four small holdings for returning ex-servicemen.

But whether lotted or cleared, the traces of the old order of unlotted townships and clusters of buildings remain now in the extensive green patches showing the abandoned rigs of old lazy-beds and ploughed areas, and in the clusters of ruined buildings to be seen on almost every holding. The only other major change has been the twentieth century spread of afforestation, especially in Sunart.

Unfortunately, a complete understanding of the material presented by the map and Valuation is not yet possible. At the time of writing, no rental of the estate corresponding to the Valuation has been found. If this were discovered, the precise numbers of tenants, and perhaps even of cottars and their families, might be known for each holding, and the value of the documents greatly enhanced. Nor is a later map showing the actual lotting known to the author. Despite this lack, however, the map and Valuation together provide a good basis on

which to construct the story of subsequent land and population changes from estate documents and Census records.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS

Pl. IV. This part of the map shows, from west to east:

- (1) Achateny, a large farm in 1807, and still so today.
- (2) Branault, lotted after 1807 into four holdings. Now one farm.
- (3) Kilmory, at that time an unlotted township with clachan. Now a lotted township of strip crofts and linear dispersed settlement.
- (4) Swordlechorrach, Swordlemore, and Swordlehuel, all then unlotted townships, and now one farm, with buildings based on Swordlemore.
- (5) Ochkill, now lotted township of scattered strip crofts; settlement in original cluster.

Pl. V. This part of the map shows, from west to east:

- (1) Part of a "plantation".
- (2) Ranachanstrone and Ranachanmore unlotted townships later cleared into one sheep farm, and resettled in 1924 as four small holdings with dispersed settlement.
- (3) Ardnastang, in 1807, the only township with lotted holdings in Ardnamurchan and Sunart: linear dispersed settlement.
- (4) Anaheilt unlotted township, now rectangular holdings from valley bottom upwards, and with dispersed linear settlement.
- (5) Strontian "village" containing, Factor's residence, Inn etc.

MARGARET C. STORRIE

APPENDIX 3.

"Two Early Resettlement Schemes in Barra."

Paper accepted for publication in Scottish Studies, April 1962.

### APPENDIX 3. TWO EARLY RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES IN BARRA.

The aspect of rural settlement in the Outer Hebrides has been much altered by various land settlement schemes during the late nineteenth and especially during the twentieth centuries. These have generally been encouraged or initiated and financed by Government bodies, such as the former Board of Agriculture (now Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland) and the congested Districts Board. Most of the schemes have subsequently been regulated by the former Crofters Commission and its successor of 1911, the Scottish Land Court<sup>1</sup>. In many cases, the Department of Agriculture has laid out new crofting townships on former farms belonging to private proprietors; in other cases the Department itself has become the proprietor by compulsory purchase or otherwise. Such resettlement schemes however, were preceded by some which were initiated wholly by private proprietors. Amongst the earliest were those which comprised the fishermen's holdings of Bentengaval and Garrygall in the island of Barra. Set up in 1883, these schemes quickly became abortive as their original *raison-d'être* proved ephemeral. The result to-day is a decadent system of agricultural holdings too small for efficient use of the available land, and too small to support the tenants' families.

The physical environment in Barra is poor, consisting of large areas of eroded gneiss and meagre pasture with only small peripheral areas of cultivable land. This has always meant that only a poor living could be obtained from agriculture. By the late eighteenth century with the cessation of warfare epidemics, increase in population could not be supported solely from the land. Until the middle of the next century, fishing, kelp manufacture and the widespread cultivation of the potato in turn provided

1. For this and other footnotes, see end of paper.



subsidiary sources of food or income. As each failed, the close balance between subsistence and famine in Barra was disrupted, and many people became destitute. Some townships were cleared to make way for more profitable large farms. Often this resulted in further land pressure and the displaced people moved into the adjacent townships, in which holdings became subdivided to accommodate them; the alternative was to emigrate to the Lowlands of Scotland, or overseas.

Through the second half of the nineteenth century, in Barra, Harris and Lewis, the contribution of fishing, both subsistence and commercial, again helped to give rise to, and support an increasing population. By the 1880's, side by side with large empty areas under single-tenant farms, there were a few crofting townships into which the majority of the population was crowded. The original crofter holdings had become much subdivided as population increased, and in addition there were more cottars and squatters with no legal land holdings. Quite illegally they made use of tenants' land to graze cattle and sheep and to cultivate patches of potatoes and corn. For this privilege they sometimes paid rent in cash or labour, but often no rent passed at all. The bare living obtained from the land for most families was being supplemented by reliance on part-time fishing. At this period the fishing industry in Barra was being conducted mainly by full-time fishermen from the East Coast of Scotland. Fish was caught, and salted, dried or cured, for export to the expanding markets of Eastern Europe. Local men and women were employed on the boats and on the shore, and some even followed the fishing, seasonally, to the East coast. The wages from this made possible the purchase of imported food which was increasingly difficult to produce in sufficient quantity in overpopulated Barra.

This extra contribution from fishing however only increased the overpopulation and land congestion, and by the 1880's, both tenants and cottars in the agricultural townships were clamouring for land<sup>2</sup>. In the three townships of Glen, Kentangaval and Tangusdale around Castle Bay, there were in 1883, 66 legal tenants and 65 cottars. 45 of these petitioned the proprietrix of the island, Lady Emily Gordon Cathcart, for more land. They suggested that the island of Vatersay to the south of Barra, and at that time part of a large farm, should be settled by a crofter population. But Lady Cathcart turned down this proposal on several issues. Her main objection was that Barra could never be wholly an agricultural island and she saw little point in establishing yet another community of landholders who would in time become part-agriculturalists and part-fishers. Instead she stressed that in order to be successful, agriculture and fishing had to be separated as much as possible. Fishing ought to be a full-time occupation pursued along the lines of the East coast fishermen who came from non-agricultural villages. She was trying every means to encourage the local development of fishing, centred on the port of Castlebay, as a source of livelihood for landless families. Already, a hotel for dealers, several shops and a school had been built by the proprietrix in Castlebay, and she had encouraged the erection of piers, curing stations, and the extension of telegraphic communication with mainland markets. At the same time she realised that it would be difficult for the families of landless fishermen to obtain potatoes and milk, so from 1863 onwards, she proposed several land resettlement schemes for small fishermen's holdings. The first two comprised the hilly peninsulas and surrounding fringes of Bentangaval and Garrygall, which at that time belonged to the farms of Vatersay and Eoligaray to the south



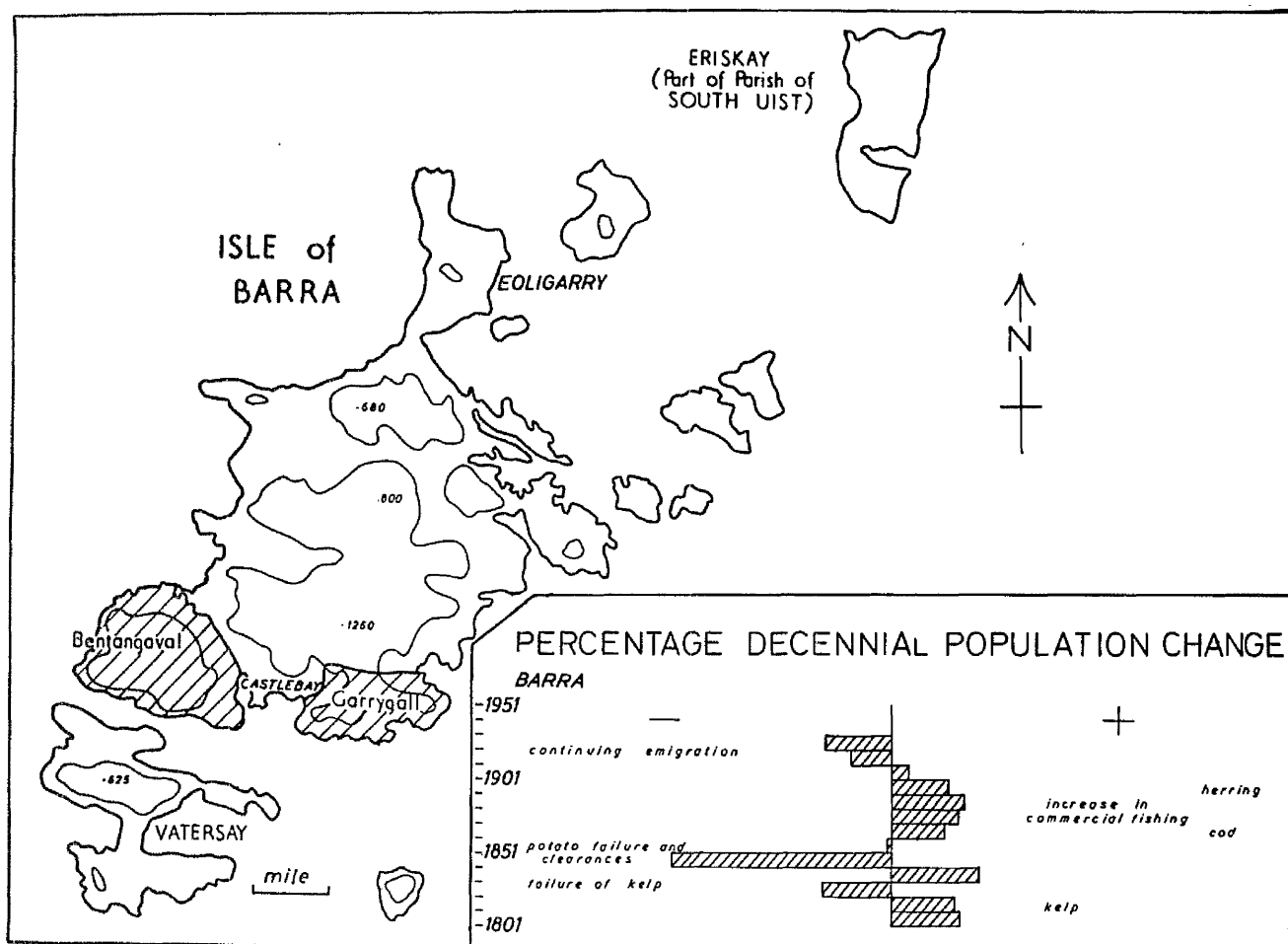


Figure 1. The location of Bentangaval and Garrygall in Barra.  
Percentage decennial population change from 1801 to 1951.

and north respectively. (See figure 1.) These were offered to cottar-fishermen living in the congested townships around Castlebay, with the aim of providing each family with sufficient land on which to grow potatoes for food, and winter fodder and grass for a cow's milk. In addition each family was to share a small supplementary income from a Club sheep stock. In no way were the holdings intended to be large enough to detract from the tenant's main occupation in fishing, and Lady Cathcart suggested that no houses be built on Bentangaval or Garrygall. Instead, rented house stances were offered in Castlebay itself, enabling the fishermen to be close to port. After these schemes, came several others with the same purpose in mind, for instance, Bruernish and Leenish. In addition, there were other schemes of an entirely different nature; these were concerned with the provision of adequately-sized agricultural holdings to enable people to make a full-time living from the land, for example, in Allasdale, paralleled by later resettlement schemes e.g. Northbay, 1901.

The hill of Bentangaval amounted to about 1750 acres, of which some 28 acres were reckoned to be potential "arable". Of the original 45 shares which were offered, only 35 were taken up, and indeed, in default of enough cottar-fishermen applying for holdings, some were rented by tenants of the surrounding crofting townships of Glen, Kentangaval and Tangusdale. So even at the start, the scheme had to be modified in its original purpose. Each tenant was allowed one share in the new township which permitted him to graze a cow and a young beast, as well as having his share of seven sheep in a township Club stock. His share in the arable area gave him just under an acre in which to cultivate potatoes and hay. The so-called "arable" areas were in two parts known as East and West Bentangaval

(see figure 2) in which there were respectively 17 and 18 shares. East Bentangaval consisted of a bench round Loch Beag with poor rocky soils, and West Bentangaval had peaty-loamy soils close to the Atlantic shores, several miles from Castlebay. Each share consisted of several small and scattered pieces of relatively better or poorer land. None of the tenants, however, took up house stances in Castlebay but continued to reside in the surrounding townships. There was still therefore, partial attachment to the land, contrary to Lady Gordon Cathcart's wish for full-time fishermen. There was no fence separating Bentangaval from the other townships, and since the byres for the Bentangaval stock were still in fact in these townships, the stock fed from the Glen, Kentangaval and Tangusdale crofts in winter, and the stock of the latter roamed Ben Tangaval in summer. Thus apart from some additional grazing the land situation in the crofting townships had not changed very much in the years following the scheme's initiation in 1883. Moreover, already by 1890, the livelihood to be obtained from fishing was becoming precarious. The boom of 1889 in which the maximum number of 571<sup>3</sup> boats was fishing in the Barra District (which included S. Uist) was followed by fluctuations in numbers of boats and sizes of catch. And so many of the tenants became unable to pay their rents let alone pay for their share in the club sheep stock (and this was despite the fact that the Club stock had only one-third of the numbers of sheep grazed on the Ben when it was part of the Vatersay tack or farm). By 1892, 25 out of the 35 tenants were in debt to the tune of £772 or £22. 11. 0. each, on average. They applied to the Fair Rents Commission for revised rents. Arrears were reduced and rents lowered from £3. 10. 0. to £2. 5. 0. But matters scarcely improved with continuing fluctuations in fishing and less than a decade after its inception, the idea of forming

fishermen's holdings with houses near the port of Castlebay was rapidly becoming out-of-date. The Census of 1891<sup>4</sup> mentions only 16 households in Castlebay whilst the crofting townships of Glen had 65 and Kentangaval 53. In these latter townships, part time livelihood was sporadically obtained on east coast boats up until World War I. But the latter interrupted the Eastern European markets for Hebridean produce and fishing in Barra rapidly declined. Decreasing numbers of boats and men were employed up to War II since when, Barra, with its port of Castlebay, has been of minor importance in the British fishing industry, sheltering only the occasional foreign trawler besides a few local lobster boats.

So, as the importance of income from fishing declined, the 35 holdings of Bentangaval scarcely even served their original purpose; nor could they prove successful agricultural holdings by their very nature. The erection of a fence between Bentangaval and the surrounding townships in 1906/7, and the raising of the sowing of each share to 1 horse, 1 cow and 10 sheep were attempts to increase the agricultural utilisation of the land. Later, another fence was erected around East Bentangaval to separate the arable areas from the grazing, and still more recently, a further one was erected around West Bentangaval. Several of the tenants have built houses in Bentangaval itself. But only the part of East Bentangaval around Loch Beag and the small area to the west of it are now cultivated. And with the exception of one croft recently consolidated and fenced, and of another consolidated though unfenced, the arable is still held in patches. Of the original 35 tenancies, (see figure 2a) there are at present, by amalgamation 31, of which 10 are held by tenants now living in Bentangaval itself; 16 are held by tenants living outside Bentangaval but still in other parts of Barra; 4 are held by tenants

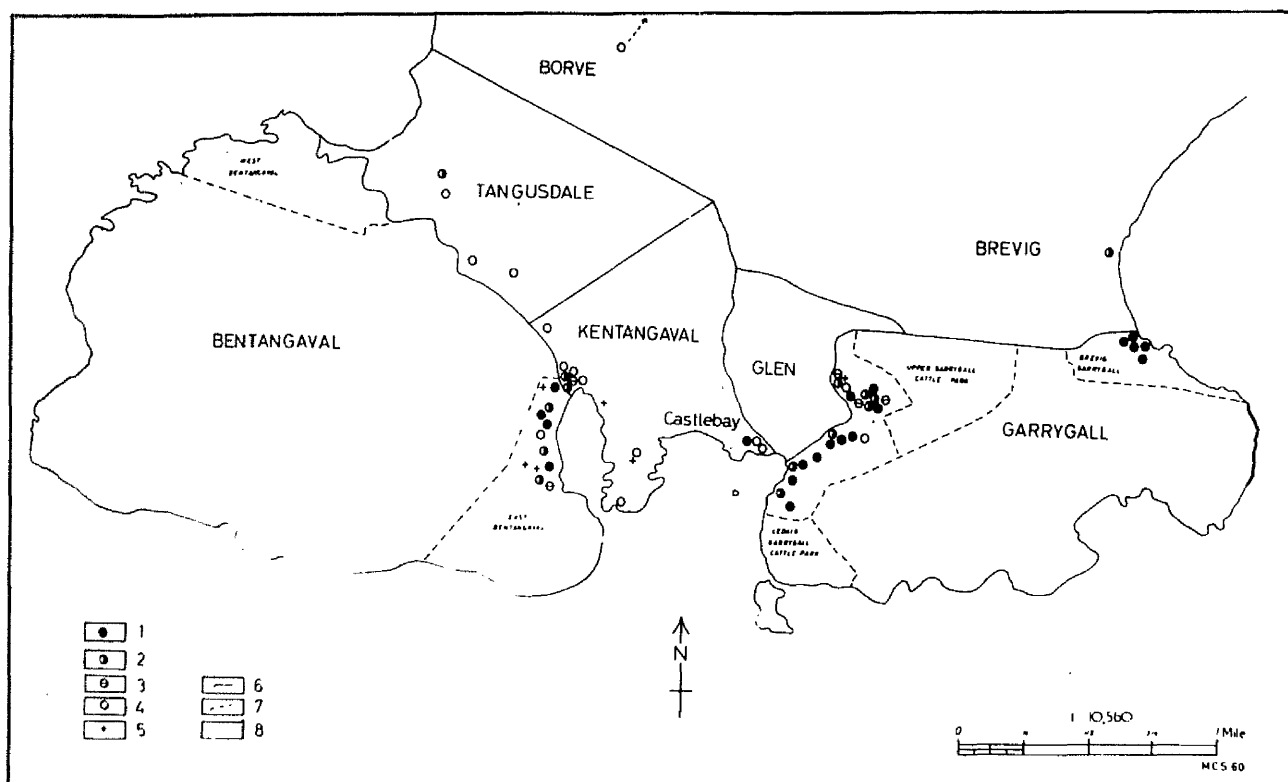
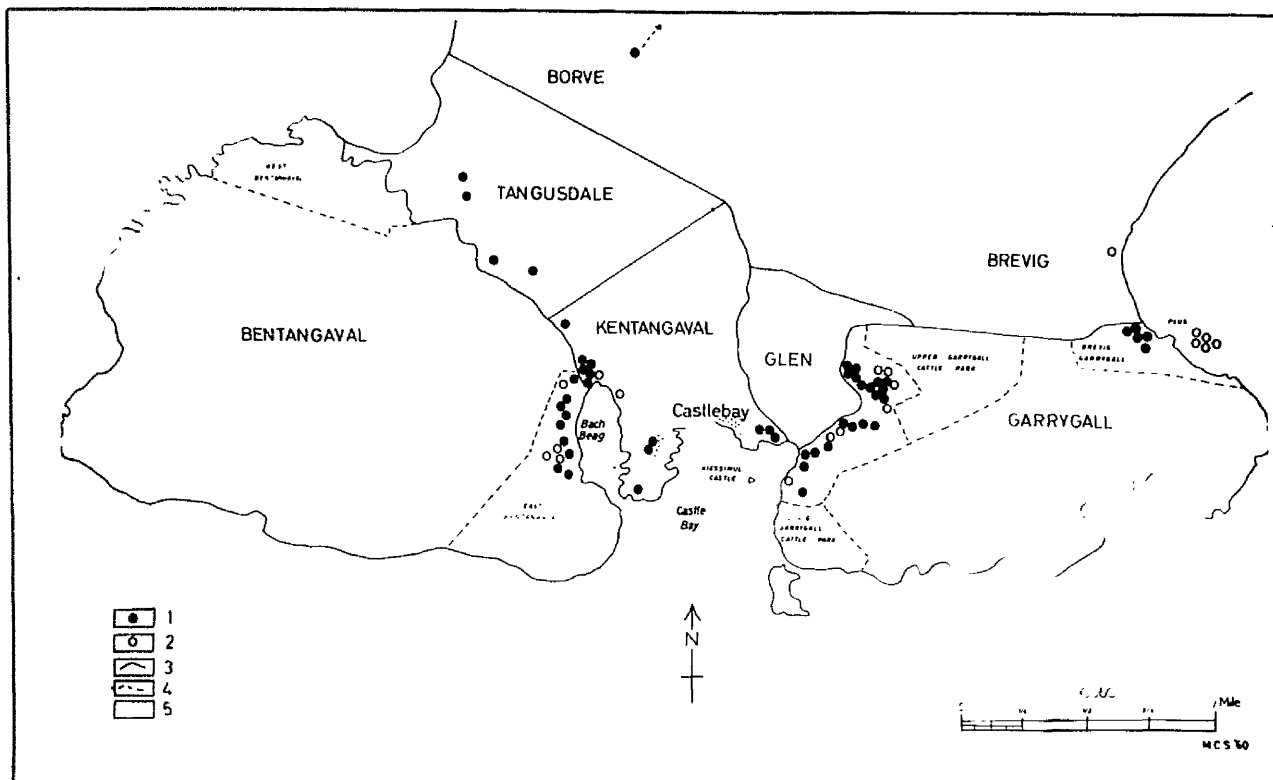


Figure 2a. Tenancies in Bentangaval and Garrygall.

2b. Effective agricultural units.

living outside Barra altogether and are unworked; and one is vacant. In addition there are four feu<sup>5</sup> houses without grazing or cultivation rights.

Only  $8\frac{1}{2}$  acres of arable land in the township are used for the production of potatoes and winter fodder, and of the township's soum or stint of 35 cows, there are at present only 4. Again, only four of the original holdings have a fraction of an acre worked for potatoes, corn and hay, and are stocked with a cow and a score or so of ewes (see figure 2b). These four tenants have houses on Bentangaval itself, two being retired Merchant Navymen whose families are grown-up and away from the island. The other two tenants work most of the year on the mainland, while their wives tend the land. Six other holdings are held by tenants living in Bentangaval. Three are cultivated for potatoes and the tenants keep a few sheep - all these tenants are over 65 years of age. Two holdings are worked only for potatoes, and one is unofficially sublet to one of the retired Merchant Navymen. Apart from one holding which is vacant, and 4 held by tenants residing outside Barra and which are at present unworked, the remaining 16 holdings are held by tenants living in other parts of the island, the services centre and port of Castlebay, the crofting townships of Glen, Kentangaval and Tangusdale. Three of these 16 tenants live on feus in nearby Kentangaval, and sometimes cultivate a few patches of potatoes and keep a few sheep. None of the other 13 holdings is cultivated or stocked with cattle; they are utilised entirely as sheep grazing. In the case of Kentangaval and Tangusdale, tenants, the Ben forms supplementary grazing for their own stock of sheep. For other tenants in Castlebay, it provides an additional source of income for very little outlay, except an occasional day's fencing, shearing or dipping. There is no longer a township herdsman as there was in the earlier days, to look after the Club stock. Each tenant shepherds his own tiny flock of

sheep, or else leaves them to fend for themselves. The latter is more frequent, and shows its effects in lambing percentages around or under 50 per cent. The sum for each share<sup>6</sup>, converted into numbers of sheep (i.e. ewes) is 25. For the 35 shares this gives a total of 875 ewes. An "Equivalent" 280 ewes belongs to tenants living in Bentangaval and to some of those living in the township outside. In addition there is an indeterminate number comprising parts of flocks belonging to tenants living in other townships. However it is reasonable to assume that not only is Bentangaval being under-utilised or under-stocked, but in addition, due to the preponderance of sheep over cattle, pasture quality is deteriorating except in the one sweet area to which most of the sheep flock. This is the close green sward covering the former cultivation rigs of the abandoned township of Gortain overlooking the Sound of Vatersay. Only a fraction of the arable land is being utilised and more and more of it is also reverting to poor pasture. The original aim, then, of providing potatoes and milk for families of fishermen living in Castlebay, has resulted today in a system of units too small for efficient agricultural use. In fact, both potatoes and bottled milk are to be seen being taken off the thrice-weekly steamer from Oban. Although mostly used in the non-agricultural area of Castlebay, they are also to be found in Bentangaval households.

The resumption of Bentangaval for fishermen cottars and crofters west of Castlebay, was paralleled on the east by that of Garrygall. The hill and surrounding valleys of Garrygall amounted to 970 acres of which 59 were potentially "arable". Lady Gordon Cathcart offered to share it amongst 40 heads of families connected with fishing. The 40 shares were all taken up by families from Glen, Brevig, and from the island of Minulay<sup>9</sup>. The same purpose was pursued, the arable share of each tenant being slightly larger

than in Bentangaval, and on better quality land on the alluvial sides of the streams Allt a Ghlinn, Allt Alasdair and their tributaries. Each tenant had a share amounting to a cow, a calf and 8 sheep in the Club stock. Houses were again to be in Castlebay. The inbye land was divided into three portions, Ledaig Garrygall, (14 shares), Upper Garrygall (14 shares) and Brevig Garrygall (12 shares). In the first two, each tenant had 9 patches in order attain to share good and bad land. The third, Brevig Garrygall, was first divided into an arable part close to the sea, and each of the twelve tenants had one single, consolidated patch or lot in this area for growing potatoes. Another area was fenced off for hay and tethered grazing, and later another for potatoes. As in Bentangaval, so in Garrygall, most of the tenants in 1891 applied for Fair Rents, with similar reductions. But the subsequent development of Garrygall has been slightly different from that of Bentangaval. In 1939, the tenants of Ledaig and Upper Garrygall decided to consolidate their pieces of arable land. First of all two cattle parks were fenced off, one for Ledaig and one for Upper Garrygall (see figure 2). Then holdings for cultivation were unofficially lotted or consolidated into rectangular strips running up the valley side of Allt a Ghlinn and its tributary. This arrangement still holds today, and some of the consolidated holdings are wholly, others partially, fenced off. Many of the tenants now have houses on their consolidated lots. Thus this area has taken on something of the appearance of a crofting township.

Taking Ledaig and Upper Garrygall as "Glen Garrygall", of the 28 tenancies formed in 1883, there are still 28, of which 16 are held by tenants living in Garrygall; 4 are held by tenants living in other parts of Barra; 7 are tenanted by people living outside Barra who unofficially sublet their crofts to tenants on the island; and one is vacant. There are however, only



24 agriculturally operative units<sup>7</sup>. From figure 2b it is seen that 11 of these are cultivated and stocked with both cattle and sheep. Where amalgamation has taken place officially or unofficially, more than one cow is even kept. 7 units are cultivated for potatoes and used as sheep grazing; 2 are worked only for potatoes with no stock kept; 3 are used solely as sheep grazing and one is vacant. Of the sheep scum of 700 ewes for Glen Garrygall the equivalent of 351 sheep are grazed in the township. On the whole the land is being put to greater use in Glen Garrygall than in Bantangaval, though still only half of the units are being utilised for their original purpose of providing milk and potatoes, again mostly by older folk or the wives of men away at sea or on the mainland. In Brevig Garrygall, only the first block of land to be enclosed is now utilised for cultivation. Of the original 12 tenancies there are now 11, of which 5 are held by people living outside Barra altogether and one living in Brevig to the north. The 5 held by absentee tenants are sublet to the remaining tenants. All but one of the resultant six units are worked for potatoes and hay and keep cattle and sheep, the remaining one having no cow. But each of the tenants is over 65 years of age.

Township	Tenancies	Units	A	B	C	D	E
<b>BENTANGAVAL</b>							
Holdings rented by tenants living							
(i) in Bentangaval	13	12	4	3	2	0	3
(ii) on non-agricultural fens in Barra or furth	8	8	0	3	1	3	2
(iii) in other crofting townships of Barra	10	9	0	0	1	7	0
<b>Total BENTANGAVAL</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>GARRYGALL</b>							
"GLEN" GARRYGALL	28	24	11	7	2	3	1
"BREVIG" GARRYGALL	11	6	5*	1	0	0	0
<b>Total GARRYGALL</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>KENTANGAVAL</b>							
	17	13	11	0	2	0	0
<b>TANGUSDALE</b>							
	14	13	9	1	1	2+	0

\* including 1 worked by tenant in Brevig, Barra

+ including 1 used as sheep grazing by tenant in Borge, Barra.

- A. Agric. Units cultivated and stocked with cows and sheep.
- B. Agric. Units cultivated and stocked with sheep.
- C. Agric. Units cultivated, but with no stock.
- D. Holdings only stocked with sheep.
- E. Holdings unworked or vacant.

Table 1 - Summary of the Agricultural situation in the townships of Bentangaval and Garrygall, as compared with Kentangaval and Tangusdale.

Table 1 illustrates the greater degree of land utilisation in Garrygall than in Bentangaval as a whole. But neither compares very favourably with the surrounding agricultural townships whose population and land problems they were designed to alleviate. In the latter townships, over two-thirds of the units are cultivated and stocked with more than half their soun. Corresponding with these larger consolidated holdings in Kentangaval and Tangusdale, is their greater ability to support the families belonging to them, as is demonstrated in table 2.

Township	Of TOTAL POPULATION		Of Total 15-64 years	
	No. at home (incl. cottars and feuars).	No. away	At Home	Away
Bentangaval	49	46	19	44
Garrygall	84	78	48	68
Kentangaval	94	23	40	23
Tangusdale	40	28	19	27

Table 2 - Numbers of people living and working at home and away from the townships of Bentangaval and Garrygall, as compared with Kentangaval and Tangusdale.

From table 2, Bentangaval and Garrygall have as many or more people living and working away from home as live there, especially when those of working age (i.e. 15 to 64 years) are considered, but the reverse is true of the crofting townships of Kentangaval and Tangusdale. This is to be expected since the original occupation of fishing has declined. No alternative source of employment has arisen to take its place, such as the Harris Tweed weaving industry of Lewis. Many of the men join the Merchant Navy; others find casual employment in Civil engineering and other public works on the mainland. Many single women of working age find domestic work on the mainland. In 1957, of the men of working age in Bentangaval itself

only one spent his time looking after his holding, but was not fully occupied - he was a retired Merchant Navyman. Another took work as and when it became available, and the other three tenants were all employed in non-agricultural occupations. Likewise in Garrygall, there were no "full-time" agriculturalists. Three tenants had regular employment, three had sporadic work and two were in non-agricultural full-time employment.

In both Bentangaval and Garrygall then, the land is under-utilised. Especially in Garrygall is it capable of improvement and it could carry more stock. Neither of these two settlements can support its population. But the present agrarian structure of excessively small land holdings and common grazings, in which many shareholders take little interest, makes improvement difficult. Lady Gordon Cathcart's policy at the time was a wise one. The establishment of such tiny holdings was intended to encourage the development of full-time fishing. This has failed however, and the scheme recently announced by the Scottish Home Department<sup>8</sup> for the revival of Outer Hebridean fishing, is unlikely to produce fishermen in sufficient numbers to resuscitate such settlements. Already almost all of the tenants have other employment or else live away from Barra. Thus a degree of unofficial reorganisation has already taken place. Both townships are areas in which the present Crofters Commission could well use its powers of reorganisation, to provide under The Crofters Act of 1961<sup>9</sup>, a smaller number of larger holdings which would be more attractive to tenants interested in proper agricultural management, whilst non-landholding house fens would be granted to dispossessed landholding tenants. Critics would at once point out that such a system of redistribution of land would be undesirable in an area of few alternative employment opportunities for dispossessed tenants. But as has already been illustrated, there are at present no tenants being

fully employed agriculturally, in either Bentangeval or Garrygall. The redistribution of the holdings into adequately-sized units would more likely encourage better utilisation of the land, and perhaps, progressive improvement. At least a few men and their families would have the opportunity of staying in Barra to make a living solely from the land by the sale of cattle, sheep and wool, as well as of milk and potatoes. These would be required not only by the non-agricultural households on feus in the townships, and in the services centre and port of Castlebay, but also by the increasing number of holidaymakers. The expansion of the holiday industry in Barra and the other Hebrides, follows recent similar trends on the adjacent West Highland mainland of Scotland, and further emphasises the need for increased local food production in the Hebrides generally. One method of effecting this is the economic re-organisation and improvement of archaic patterns of landholdings such as those of Bentangeval and Garrygall. The original reasons for such patterns are no longer valid economically or sociologically although admirable in the time and mind of Lady Gordon Cathcart.

Notes and references.

1. The Crofters (Scotland) Act of 1955 reconstituted the Crofters Commission. Under the more recent Crofters (Scotland) Act 1961 9810 Eliz. 2 Ch. 58 amendments to the 1955 act are made and further powers given to "make fresh provision with respect to the reorganisation, development and regulation of crofting in the crofting Counties of Scotland."
2. Evidence by Her Majesty's Commissioners of Enquiry into the conditions of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. (Napier Commission) 1884 Vol I, pp. 643 - 698.
3. Fishery Board Reports. Ninth Report 1890 Appendix V.
4. Unpublished Census of Scotland enumeration schedules. New Register House Edinburgh.
5. A 'feu' is a Scottish legal term with no English equivalence, for a lease of land granted in perpetuity by one party to another with certain conditions attached. In the connection here, that is, in the crofting counties, the relevant point is that the feuar, unlike the crofter tenant has no legal right to shares in arable land or common pasture.
6. Each crofter tenant by his share or shares in the township is permitted to keep a certain proportion or soum of the total township stock. For example in Bentangaval each share entitles the tenant to hold horses, cows and sheep. By "equivalence", horses, cows and sheep may be interchanged according to the particular township equivalence. In this case, 2 cows or 10 sheep may be substituted for 1 horse. So each tenant's soum in sheep equivalence amounts to 25 sheep.

7. An agriculturally operative unit may be considered as a holding or number of holdings cultivated and stocked by one tenant. He may be the legal tenant of all, or sublet some of the holdings.
8. Scottish Home Department Fisheries Training Scheme. For details see Crofters Commission Report 1959 cmd. 9096. Under this scheme, two fishing boats have arrived in Lewis for Lewis crews, and on 15th Sept. 1961 the Magdalena, CYL, the first herring ring net boat to be built for a Barra crew under the Fisheries Training Scheme, arrived in Castlebay. The owners are two brothers from a holding in Ledaig Garrygall who earlier returned from the Merchant Navy to join the training scheme; the rest of the crew is comprised of their father and two other brothers at present engaged in lobster fishing from the port. (The Oban Times 23.9.61.)
9. Crofters (Scotland) Act 1961. See.1.

APPENDIX 4. PROFORMA FOR EACH HOLDING IN STUDY OF LANDHOLDINGS  
EVOLUTION IN ISLAY. SIMILAR ONE FOR ARDNAMURCHAN--  
SUNART NOT HERE INCLUDED.

Sheet 1.

Parish  
Name of holding  
1722 Rental  
1733 Rental  
1741 Rental  
1749 Map  
1751 Valuation

Sheet 2.

1769 lease  
1779 lease  
1795 farms let  
after expiry of  
present lease  
1796 rent increases  
1798 Rental  
1803 lease

Sheet 3.

1812 Rental  
1814/1818 Arrears  
1821 Kildalton Rental  
1824 Rental  
1826 Arrears

Sheet 4.

1820's and 1830's  
Maps  
1833 Rental  
1833 List of Offers  
1835 Rental  
1838 and 1840  
Rentals.

Sheet 5.

1841 Census of  
Scotland  
1843 Rental  
1843 Tabulation of  
Agriculture  
1848 Rental  
1852 Rental  
1856 Kildalton Rental

Sheet 6.

1860's maps  
1861 Census of Scotland  
1863 Rental  
1866 Rental Kildalton  
1869 Rental Kildalton  
1871 Islay Rental

Sheet 7.

1871 Valuation  
1881 Valuation  
1881 Rental  
1881 O.S. Six-inch  
1891 Rental  
1891 Census of Scotd.

Sheet 8.

1901 2nd Edn. O.S.  
Six-Inch.  
1901 Rental  
1911 Rental  
1921 Rental  
1931 Rental  
1958 Valuation  
1958 Survey \*

Sheet 9.

Other relevant information  
from maps, air photographs,  
field work etc.

\* Survey of landholdings - farm types and land utilisation,  
carried out by the writer in 1956, 1958 and 1960.



APPENDIX 5. COMPREHENSIVE LIST OF PRESENT-DAY LANDHOLDINGS AND SETTLEMENT IN THE ISLAND OF ISLAY AND THE PENINSULA OF ARDNAMURCHAN AND SUNART, WITH THEIR TYPES OF EVOLUTION, TYPE S OF FIELD PATTERN, AND SETTLEMENT, PRESENT, UNOCCUPIED AND RUINED.

APPENDIX 5. COMPREHENSIVE LIST OF PRESENT-DAY LANDHOLDINGS AND SETTLEMENT IN THE ISLAND OF ISLAY AND THE PENINSULA OF ARDNAMURCHAN AND SUNART, WITH THEIR TYPES OF EVOLUTION, TYPES OF FIELD PATTERN, AND SETTLEMENT, PRESENT, UNOCCUPIED AND RUINED.

A. FARMS.

- A1. Farms by single process of evolution from tacks to single farms. Reorganised at any time from eighteenth century onwards.  
Field pattern: Regular and irregular.  
Settlement : Present. Single farmhouses with perhaps some farm workers' houses.  
Unoccupied Farmworkers' houses.  
Ruined. Clechans of farmworkers' houses.
- A2. Farms which were single holdings reorganised on regular lines early in the nineteenth century.  
Field pattern: Regular.  
Settlement : Present Single farm houses.  
Unoccupied -  
Ruined -
- A3. Farms the result of clearance (often after other processes) and later reorganised.  
Field pattern: Regular and irregular.  
Settlement : Present Farm house and buildings.  
Unoccupied Farmworkers' houses.  
Ruined Clechans of houses and farmbuildings of joint tenants, subtenants, cottars and workers.
- A4. Farms by dwindling numbers of tenants of joint farms. Sometimes later reorganised.  
Field pattern: Regular and irregular.  
Settlement : Farm house and buildings usually on original clechan site, with some or none of the ruins visible.
- A5. Farms by dwindling of reorganised groups of small holdings.  
Field pattern: Regular.  
Settlement : Single farm house at present  
Unoccupied and ruined. Single farm houses.

B. GROUPS OF SMALL HOLDINGS.

- B1. By reorganisation of joint farms.  
Field pattern: Regular.  
Settlement : Single farmhouses, dispersed.  
Unoccupied and ruined. Single dispersed farm houses.
- B2. By unofficial reorganisation.

- B2. By unofficial reorganisation.  
 Field patterns: Irregular mostly.  
 Settlement: : Nucleated.  
 Many unoccupied and ruined houses and buildings in  
 clachans.

C. CROFTING TOWNSHIPS.

- C1. Lotted crofting townships.  
 Field pattern: Regular mainly.  
 Settlement: : Dispersed or partially dispersed from original  
 clachan.  
 Unoccupied and ruined individual houses.
- C2. Dwindling and later reorganisation or lotting.  
 Field pattern: Regular and irregular.  
 Settlement: : Usually clustered settlement.  
 Many unoccupied and ruined buildings.

D. MUIR AND VILLAGE LOTMENTS.

- D1. Muir lotments.  
 Field patterns: Regular.  
 Settlement: : Dispersed.  
 Unoccupied and ruined dispersed buildings.
- D2. Village lotments  
 Field patterns: Regular, sometimes strips, sometimes more equi-  
 angular.

E. SETTLEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES.

- Field pattern: : Sometimes in the form of small holdings, irregular  
 shape; others in form of crofting townships, more  
 regular lay-out of fields.
- Settlement: : Usually dispersed.

Abbreviations used in following summaries.

FIELD PATTERNS.

R. Regular.

I. Irregular.

R/I. Elements of both regular and irregular.

SETTLEMENT.

FH. Farm house.

fwh. Farm workers' house.

D. Dispersed settlement pattern.

N. Nucleated settlement pattern.

Area : ISLAY

Year : 1960 Holdings: Al. FARMS. Single holdings direct from tack.  
Reorganised at some time.

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
--------------------	-----------------------------------	---------------------------	-----------------	------------------------------

Achnaclaiche

R

FH

Aoredh

Part of Ballineby tack. Much comprises reclaimed land at the head of Loch Gruinard.

R

FH  
fwh

Ardbeg

R

FH

Ardelistry

FH

R/I FH

Ardenistie

R

FH

Ardmore

R

FH

Ardnahoe

Extent much less than formerly

R/I FH

Ruined FH.

Ardnave

incl.

R

FH

Brookachie,  
Ardtornish  
and Nigrim.

Ardimerday

R

FH

Ardtalla

incl.

R

FH

Proaig and  
Glenchorro-  
dale.

Proaig FH.

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. H/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Ballinmartin		I	PH	
Ballinaby	Part of former tack of Walter Campbell of Ballinaby. Laid out 18th c. Now Dept. of Agric.	R	PH fwh	PH
Ballymony incl. Arihellich	<u>Smallholdings</u> Part of Ellister tack till early 19th c. Then single farm. Settled as smallholdings 20th c. Now with E. Ellister again.	I	fwh at Ballymony and Arihellich.	PHs at Ballymony and Arihellich.
Buninuilt incl. Corghorton		I	PH	PHs at Corghorton
Callunkill incl. Ballynaughtenbeg, Ballynaughtanmore, Arynoblast and Solam		R/I.	PH fwhs	clechan of Solam " Arynoblast " Ballynaughtanmore.
Cladville	Settled 20th c. as smallholdings. Reverted to single.	R	PH	
Cornabus		R	PH	
Coull	1749 map much same as present day	R	PH fwh Machrie	fwhs at Coulexach and Torran
Cultoon		R	PH	?
Duich	Smaller than original tack. Part off for Duich lots early 19th c.	R	PH	

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Duisker incl. Balole, Leck, Ballie- harvie	Ballieharvie cleared 1835/42.	R/I.	FH Duisker FH Balole	Glachan at Ballieharvie
Easter Ellister, incl. Ballymony, Arihallich		R/I.	FH Ellister. fwh Ballymony	fwhs at Ballymony and Arihallich.
Wester Ellister	Part of B. Ellister tack till 1870's. Single holding then. Settled as small- holdings 20th c.	R	FH	
Foreland	Part of Sunderland estate.	R		
Glenmachrie	Smaller than earlier tack. Part off for Muir Lots.	I	FH	
Gortantoid incl. Dudilbeg and Dudilmore		R/I.	FH G'toid	Glachans at Dudilbeg and Dudilmore.
Island		R	FH	
Lagavulin		R	FH	
Laggen		R	FH	
Lephroaig		R/I.	FH	
Lossit(Kiells) incl. Balli- crach, Balli- clach, Kilslevan.	Lossit always part of tack. Balli- clach, Ballierach, cleared 1779. Kilslevan cleared 1852/1861.	R/I.	FH fwh.	Glachans of Ballierach and Kilslevan.

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Kiells Incl. Carnbeg, Ballachroy, Ardruadh, Scanlistle.	Ballachroy cleared late 18th c. Ardruadh " " Scanlistle " " Carnbeg cleared by 1863.	R/I.	FH	Glachans of Carnbeg, Scanlistle, Ballachroy.
Kelso		R	FH	
Kilchoman	Now only small part of earlier large tack. Church glebe.	R	former Manse. fwh.	fwh.
Kilinallen		R	FH	fwh.
Kinnabus incl. Imeraval, Lurabus, Stremnishbeg, Assibus, Glols and Glenastles	Kinnabus tack. Stremnishbeg cleared late 18th c. Assibus cleared 1842/1848.	R I	FH fwh	Glachans at Assibus and Stremnishbeg.
Knocklearoch incl. Glasgow- beg, Storkaig Ariquhary.	Glasgowbeg cleared late 18th c.	R R/I	FH fwh	(Glachans at (Slievmore, (Gorteian an (Uruiogue, (Barachan, (An Cladach and (Eacharuech.
Machrie		R	FH fwh	
Octofed incl. Almond		R	FH	fwh and fwh Glennagaoith
Persabus inc. Leogin.	Leogin cleared 1861	R	FH Heather- house.	Cluster at cottars at Leogin.

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt.		Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
		R.	I. R/I.		
Rockside incl. Greamsa	Formed out of large tack of Kilchoman Greamsa early cleared	R		FH	fwh of Greamsa.
Staiosha incl. Upper and Lower Staiosha, Mergadale, Bolsa, Cove	Includes much of former Ardnahoe tack		I.	fwh	Clachans of Mergadale, Bolsa, Staiosha and Cove.
Sunderland		R		FH fwh	fwh
Torra	Lesser extent than formerly		I.	FH	
Torrabus			R/I.	FH	
Uiskentuie	Reclaimed peat muir on raised beach at head of Loch Guinard	R		FH	
Woodend		R		FH	



Area : ISLAY

Year : 1960 Holding: A2. Single farms reorganised early Nineteenth Century.

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Ardlarach	Shown by Gemmill as at present laid out	R		
Ayen	Part of reorganised Forrabus	R	PH	
Bridgend	Gemmill's plan shows layout as at present	R	PH (Hotel)	
Coulabus		R	PH	
Coultorsa	Gemmill's plan shows layout as at present	R	PH	
Craigens		R	PH	
Ballabus	Gemmill's.....	R	Factor's house fwhs	
Gartbrock		R	PH	
Gartmain	Gemmill's.....	R	PH	
Gortanilvorrie		R	PH	
Isla House and Home Farm	Gemmill's.....	R	Estate Mansion and fw	
Ronachmore		R	PH	
Skerrols	Gemmill's.....	R	PH	
Taynaknock	Gemmill's.....	R	PH	

Area : ISLAY

Year : 1960

Holding: A3. FARMS CLEARED, often after other processes.  
Reorganised at some time.

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Avinvogie incl. Avinhissie, Upper & Lower Kilennan	Avinvogie cleared 1848/52 Avinhissie " " " " U.Kilennan 1848/1861 L.Kilennan 1852/1861	R	PH at Avinvogie	fwh at Avinhissie Clachans at Kilennan and Tri-dail rivers.
Ballichlaven incl. W. half of Shenghart	Ballichlaven cleared 1833/42 E. half Shenghart 1833/35.	I	PH at Ballichlaven	Clachan at Shenghart.
Ballichet-rigan	Reorganised as groups of smallholdings. Cleared 1861/1866.	I	PH	Groups of ruins along disused path
Balulive incl. Ballychillen	Balulive cleared 1842/48 Ballychillen cleared 1835/42	R I	PH at Balulive	Clachans at Bualruadh and Ballychillen. Lead workings.
Craigfin incl. Trudernish		I	PH School	
Baill incl. Muloch, Rostkern, Kilbranen, Surn	All reorganised early 19th c. Kilbranen cleared 1824/1833 Rostkern " 1852/1861 Surn " " "	R	PH fwh	(Ruins at Scouller, Kilbranen, Moine-brathaidh Monachaig Beinn Bharra-d-hall.
Borobus	Reduced 1824/1833 Cleared 1848/1852	R	PH	PHS
Finlaggan incl. Port-nailean & half of Shenghart.		R	PH	Clachans

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Gearach incl. Olistadh	Gearach cleared 1863/1871 Olistadh " 1835/1838 Amalgamated 1863/71.	I I	FH at Gearach	Ruined part of Gearach clachan. Clachan of Olistadh.
Giol (U. + L.) and Glenastles (U. + L.)	Giols cleared 1861/1866 Glenastles " 1852/1861 Grastell " 1861/1866	R/I	fwh	Clachans of Giols and Glenastles. Ruin Glengolach.
Kilcheeran incl. Braid, Carn, W. Rhinns	Cleared 1825/1826 ? Braid cleared early Carn dwindled	R	FH fwh	Clachan of Braid (? fwh)
Kintra incl. Frachtie, Grasdale, Grianan, Tockmaal.		R R/I		Clachans at Tockmaal, Frachtie, Grianan, Grasdale.
Kynagarry incl. Allalay	Cleared 1852/1863	R/I	FH	Several clachans. Enclosures at Allalaidh and Airidhre Abhuinn.
Leorin (Upper and Lower)	Upper Leorin cleared 1842/48 Lower " 1848/1852	R	FH fwh	Clachan at L. Leorin
Lossit Rhinns (Upper and Lower)	Cleared 1848-1852	R	R/I FH	Clachan of Lower Lossit (Mullach Mor).
Lurabus incl. Imeraval	Reorganised as groups of small- holdings. Cleared 1861 to 1866	I	-	Groups at Lurabus. FH at Imeraval.
Neriby incl. Nosebridge and part Ballitarson	Neriby cleared 1861/1863 Nosebridge 1852/1861	R	FH fwh	Single FH, clachan and dun of Nosebridge

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Octomore	Cleared late 1850's	R	PH	--
Octovullin	Cleared 1803/1824 Part taken off for Knockdon	R	PH	--
Sanaigmore	Cleared 1843/1848	R	PH	fvh
Scarrabus	Cleared 1852/1861	R	PH	--
Storkaig incl. Ariquhary	Cleared 1824/1833 Cleared 1848/1852	I.	--	PH, Cluster at Airidh Guaraidhe
Stremnishmore	Cleared 1861/66	I	PH	Cluster near farmhouse
Upper Killeyan	Cleared 1861/1866	I	--	Clachan of U. Killeyan.

Area : ISLAY

Year : 1960

Holding: A4. Farms by dwindling numbers of tenants.

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Balliviear	1 farm by 1852	R	FH	
Barr	1 farm by 1863/71	R/I	FH	
Bolse	Part of Torony/Carn	I	FH	
Carn incl. Torony	1 farm by 1863/71	R/I	FH	Clachan of Torony
Carn W. Rhinns		I	--	FH
Cattadale	1 farm by 1836	R	FH	--
Keppols	1 large and 1 small farm by 1881	R	FH	--
Kilbride incl. Brahunisary	1 farm by 20th c. Reorganised then.	R	R/I FH fwh at Brahunis- ary.	--
Kintour incl. Arras, Stoine		R	FH	Clachans at Tighnaspeur, Arras, Stoine
Tallant	1 farm by 1871 & 1 smallholding.	R	FH FH	Clachan

Area : ISLAY

Year : 1960

Holdings: A5. Farms reorganised by dwindling groups of  
smallholdings.

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt.		Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
		R.	I. R/I.		
Braibruich	1 farm by 1850's	R		FH	
Corsepool	Unofficial reorganisation early 19th c. 1 farm by 1840	R		FH	
Craigfad	Reorganised into four smallholdings. 1 farm by 1871	R	R/I	FH	
Curelach			I	FH	Dispersed ruins at U. Curelach and Sleivin
Gruinart and Leckgruinart	Unofficial reorganisation	R		FH Gruinart fwh Leckg.	Dispersed ruins at Leckgruinart and Mulbuie
Longbaw		R		FH	
Mulindry	Unofficial reorganisation. 2 holdings by	Pt R	R/I	2 FH	
Smaull	Reorganised late 18th or early 19th c. 2 holdings, 1 effective unit by late 19th. century	Pt R	R/I	FH	2 clusters of ruins.

Area : ISLAY

Year : 1960Holding: B1. Groups of small holdings.  
Dispersed settlement.

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Ballitarson	Reorganised by early 19th c. (Gemmill) Reorganised 1870's to 2 holdings	R	2 FH	Dispersed ruins
Carabus	Dwindled to 3 holdings. Unofficial reorganisation	I	3 FH	-
Esknish	Dwindled to 3 holdings. Unofficial consolidation	I	3 FH	Dispersed ruins
Gartachossan	Reorganised early 19th c. (Gemmill)	R	? FH	Dispersed ruins
Gartloist	"	R	FH	Single ruin at Sleive
Grobolls	"	R	FH	Dispersed ruins
Kilellan Kilnave	Unofficial reorganisation Now 2 holdings	R/I	2 FH	Dispersed ruins and fishing station.

Area : ISLAY

Year : 1960

Holding: B2. Groups of Smallholdings.  
Nucleated settlement.

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Carnduncan	Reorganised 1807 Subdivided. Dwindled. Now worked from other townships.	I	FH 1 occ.	Most houses in clachan ruined.
Conisby	Dwindled to three effective holdings	I	FH 3 occ.	Many houses in clachan ruined.
Gartaharra	Dwindled to two holdings	I	1 FH	-
Grulinbeg	Dwindled to two holdings	I	1	Ruins
Coille	With Grulinbeg and Kendrochid	I	-	Ruined cluster
Kendrochid	Reduced by 1836 Dwindled to present two holdings	I	3	
Kentra		I	1	-
Nerabolis	Dwindled to three holdings	I	3 FH	Ruined chapel
Tiervagain	Dwindled to two holdings	I	2 FH	Ruins in cluster
Formisdale	Dwindled to two holdings.	I	2 FH	Ruins in cluster.
Fornisaig	Fornisaig with Cultoon.			Fornisaig ruined.



Area : ISLAY

Year : 1960

Holding: C. Crofting townships

	Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt.		Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
			R.	I. R/I.		
	Balmenach	Really cottar settmt. on Portnahaven village common grazing		I	2 H	
C 1	Claddich	Only rectilinearly lotted township in Islay, lotted 1803. Now dwindled to 3 units		R	3 FH	2 ruins
C 2	Cragabus	Now U. Cragabus. single holding M. " shares L. " shares		R/I	1 in L.C. 1 in M.C. 2 in L.C.	Unocc. houses in L. and M. Cragabus.

Area : ISLAY

Year : 1960

Holding: Dl. Muir lotments.

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Castlehill	Amalgamation of several Duich lots		1 FH	-
Cruach	Part of Bowmore Village lots Reclamation	R	Several dispersed houses	Several dispersed ruins.
Duich	Part of Glenegedale Muir Reclamation 1828	R	1 FH	Several dispersed ruins
Loanbeen	Part of Bowmore Village lots scheme	R	1 FH	Single ruin
Gruinart	Early 1830's reclamation	R	Several dispersed houses	Several dispersed ruins
Lyrabus	"	R	"	"
Brosaid	"	R	"	"
Blackpark	"			
Glenegedale	Part of Gleneg. Muir Reclamation Scheme 1828.	R	"	"
Glenmachrie	"	R	"	"
Mulreesh	Miners' holdings	R	2 FH	"
Torra		R		"

Area : ISLAY

Year : 1960

Holding: D2. Village lotments

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Bowmore	Muir Reclamation from 1768.	R	Village	Many unocc. Some ruined.
Port Ellen	Tayindrome, Torradale, Taycormagan and Ballineal taken over in 1833 for village lots.	R	Village	Some unocc. and some ruined.
Port Charlotte	Lotments created out of Skibe, Glassans and part of Carn in late 1820's.	R	Village	Some unocc. and some ruined.
Portnahaven	Joint township taken over in 1820's to make village lotments.	R	Village	Many unocc. and many ruined.
Port Wemyss	Lotments lotted out in 1833 on part of former Gladville tack.	R	Village	Some unocc. and some ruined.

Area : ISLAY

Year : 1960

Holding: B. Settlement and Resettlement Schemes

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Ballinaby	Mid 20th c. Dept. of Agriculture small holdings	R	2 FH	FH
Ballymony incl. Aribhallich	1917 smallholdings scheme. Dwindled and reverted to 1 farm	I	FH	FHs
Cladville	1918 smallholdings scheme. Reverted now to 1 farm.	R	FH	
Lorgbaw	Enlargements to Port Charlotte village lots	R	-	-
W. Ellister	1918 smallholdings scheme, enlargements to Port Wemyss lots. Part amalgamated to 1 farm.	R	-	-

Area : ARDNAMURCHAN - SUNART

Year : 1959

Holdings:

Al. Farms direct from tacks.

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Achateny		R	FH fwh	
Arlundle		I		Cluster
Achnanellan incl. Claish		R and I	FH	Claish
Garnach		R and I	FH	Dispersed single ruins
Resipole	Part taken off by Forestry Commission	R and I	FH fwh	

Area :

Year :

Holding:

A2. Small farms part of tacks.

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Camusinas		I	Several houses	
Tarbert			"	
Camusine	Part Forestry Commission		FH	
Ardery	Part Forestry Commission		2 FH	
Glendrian			-	
Ardshellach incl. Derridaff			1 FH	

Area : ARDNAMURCHAN and SUNART

Year : 1959Holding: A3. FARMS by CLEARANCE

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Ardslignish incl. Camusangal, Tornamoany, Bourblaige, Glenmore		R and I	FW fwh	Ruins at Glenmore, Tornamoany, Camusangal, Bourblaige.
Glenbeg, Gortefern, Gorteneorn, Glenborrodale	Many plantations, few fields. Pasture.	I	Several H at Glenbeg and Glen- borrodale.	Ruins at Gortefern, Gorteneorn.
Laga		R/I	PH fwh	?
Mingary, Skined, Corrievullin		R/I	PH fwh other houses	R
Swordle- chorrach, Swordlemore, Swordlehuel		R	PH and other houses	Obliterated

Area : ARDNAMURCHAN - SUNART

Year : 1959Holding: A4. FARMS by dwindling.

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt.		Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
		R.	I. R/I.		
Branault		R		-	Several houses
Grigadale		R		PH	-



Area : ARDNAMURCHAN - SUNART

Year : 1959

Holding: 01. CROFTING TOWNSHIPS

Lotted early and mid-Nineteenth Century.

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Acheracle	Lotted early 19th c.	R block	D	Some unoccupied
Anaheilt	Lotted early 19th c.	R strip	D	Dispersed ruins
Ardnastang	Lotted by early 19th c.	R strip	D	Some unoccupied
Arivegaig	Lotted early 19th c.	R/I strip	2 N (linear)	Some unoccupied
Kilchoan	Lotted early 19th c.	R/I block	D	Some unoccupied & some ruined
Kilmory	Lotted mid 19th c.	R/I amalg. strips	Loosely N and D	Some unoccupied & some ruined
Kentra	Lotted mid 19th c.	R block	D	-
Newton	Lotted mid 19th c.	R block	N	
Ockle	Lotted mid 19th c.	R/I amalg. strips	N	Some unoccupied
Ormsaigbeg	Lotted early 19th c.	R strips	D	Some unoccupied & ruined
Portuaik	Lotted mid 19th c.	R/I strips	D	Some unoccupied
Sanna incl. Plocaig	Lotted mid 19th c.	I strips	D	Many unoccupied & ruined

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt.		Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
		R.	I. R/I.		
Scotatown	Lotted early 19th c.	R strips		D	Many unoccupied & dispersed ruins
Shielfoot	Lotted mid 19th c.	R blocks		D	Some unoccupied & ruined

Area : ARDNAMURCHAN - SUNART

Year : 1959Holding: C2. CROFTING TOWNSHIPSLotted Twentieth Century after dwindling

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmnt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmnt.
Achnaha	Lotted early 20th c.	R block	N	Many ruins in cluster
Achosnich	Lotted early 20th c.	I block	N & D	Several unoccupied
Ardtoe	Lotted mid 20th c.	I strip	N	Some unoccupied

Area : ARDNAMURCHAN - SUNART

Year : 1959

Holding: E. RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES

Name of holding(s)	Processes and phases of evolution	Field patt. R. I. R/I.	Present settmt.	Unoccupied or ruined settmt.
Drimnatorran	Early 20th c. resettlement smallholdings	R	FHS D	Some unoccupied
Ranachens (2 townships)	" smallholdings	R	FHS D	-
Ormseigmore	" crofting township	R	FHS N	-

FORESTRY  
COMMISSION

Polloch, Gorstenvorran, Scamodale Glasfern and Glenhurich.	Forestry Commis- sion houses at Polloch	Several
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APPENDIX 6. EFFICIENCY AND CAPACITY OF LAND UTILISATION IN ISLAY  
IN MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY BY COMPARISON TO ESTATE CENSUS  
OF AGRICULTURAL RETURNS IN 1843.

APPENDIX 6. EFFICIENCY AND CAPACITY OF LAND UTILISATION IN ISLAY  
IN MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY BY COMPARISON TO ESTATE CENSUS  
OF AGRICULTURAL RETURNS IN 1843.

APPENDIX 6.EFFICIENCY AND CAPACITY OF LAND UTILISATION IN ISLAY IN  
MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY BY COMPARISON TO ESTATE CENSUS OF  
AGRICULTURAL RETURNS IN 1843.

The Agricultural Census of the island of Islay in 1843 is a ms. document belonging to Mrs. F. Ramsay, Port Charlotte. It is complete for the Shawfield estate covering most of the island but information is lacking for the smaller estates of Cladville, Coull, Ballinaby and Sunderland. Information is recorded per tenant and per holding and comprises:

1. The numbers of tenants and their rents.
2. The numbers of cottars, workmen and tenants' families.
3. The number of dwellings.
4. CROPS. Barley, oats and potatoes. Sown in 1843, yield in 1843, and surplus left over for sale.
5. STOCK. Horses, Cows, Heifers, Sticks and Sheep kept and for sale, belonging to tenants and cottars.

The first and second categories serve to illuminate the discussion in earlier chapters on the numbers and changes in numbers of tenants per holding. But here the relevant comparison is between those agriculturally occupied in 1843 and 1958 (table A6:1).

	1843	1958
Number of tenants	529	139
Number of workers, cottars etc.	605	267

Table A6:1 Numbers of agriculturally occupied in Islay in 1843 and 1958.

The fourth Category is not directly comparable with present day returns since the figures for 1843 were in weight measure whereas the twentieth century returns are more usually in terms of acreage. But the main difference is in relative percentage composition of the crops. (table A6:2).

	1843 % weight sown	1958 % acreage sown
Barley	7.9	1.2
Oats	60.0	77.8
Potatoes	32.1	8.2
Others	0.0	12.8
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

Table A6:2 Percentage composition of crops grown in Islay in 1843 & 1958.

The area under crops was being used to produce food for human consumption as well as fodder for animals in 1843 - the barley was used in whisky distilleries; the oats for porridge and meal; the potatoes for local consumption and export. So the number of animals able to be fed on the island was presumably less than it would have been had all the arable area (and grass and grazing) been devoted to fodder production as at present. This becomes an interesting indicator of

agricultural worth and efficiency when rough comparison is made between the stocking figures of 1843 and those of the present day.

The Agricultural Census of 1843 was incomplete areally and in a few instances for individual holdings. So a direct comparison between stock kept then, and the present island total converted into cow units, shows a slight positive discrepancy for the present day. But when total stock in cow units per holding is considered for 1843 and 1958, it becomes increasingly clear that only in a few cases, mainly on the home farms of the larger estates, do the holdings provide for a greater number of animals today than a century ago. For the remainder, especially in the grazing areas, stocking was lower in 1958 than in 1843 by up to five-sixths. This is despite the fact that hardly any food for human consumption is being produced on the island at present. It ignores also the use of mechanical vehicles and implements. Fodder no longer has to be provided for large numbers of horses. The last century's advances in land reclamation, tile drainage and fertilisation should likewise point in the direction of greater production.

One conclusion is that the island is at the present-day under-stocked and, since it is predominantly stockfarming, the land is being under-utilised even for a 'marginal' area from the agricultural economist's point of view. Geographical marginality may provide part of the answer to this under-utilisation, in relative terms of environment and freight or accessibility costs. But a stronger answer for Islay is to be found in the same factor which was partly responsible, along with the landlord's initiative on the island, for creating a gradual evolution of a varied landholdings structure and pattern. This was permanent emigration from the rural areas of Islay to the nearby farms, towns and cities of the Lowlands. Despite mechanisation, it is shortage of agricultural labour in Islay (especially for the hill farms) which has led to the present-day under-utilisation of most of the island except the most productive parts around the central and southern coasts. Labour is required for the improvement and upkeep of drainage in the remoter hilly areas of the north-eastern and south-eastern hill masses, and in the Oa. In all of these areas there are valleys and glens capable of being revived agriculturally to provide additional grassland and grazing for the island.



APPENDIX 7. THE CENSUS OF SCOTLAND UNPUBLISHED INDIVIDUAL ENUMERATION  
SCHEDULES AS A SOURCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY  
HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND.

APPENDIX 7. THE CENSUS OF SCOTLAND UNPUBLISHED INDIVIDUAL ENUMERATION  
SCHEDULES AS A SOURCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY  
HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND.

degree, each dependent on a different enumerator, as well as varying from one ten-year period to the next. Particularly was this noticeable when the occupation was agricultural. The terms 'farmer', 'tenant', 'crofter', 'cotter', 'farmlabourer', 'farmsservant' and others were not mutually exclusive. With regard to actual farm workers, the particular category was often given specifically by naming a 'ploughman' or a 'shepherd' for example. Other non-agricultural occupations were stated quite categorically as 'mason', 'linen or wool weaver', 'fisher', 'stillman' (in a whisky distillery), 'merchant', 'schoolmaster', and others. Women's occupations were essentially domestic with some 'dairymaids', 'farmlabourers', 'seamstresses' or 'nursemaids'. The names, relationships, ages and birth-places of each inhabitant were however always denoted accurately.

In abstracting information from the schedules, as well as names, occupations and places of birth, the author has grouped ages into five broad categories of under school age; of school age; those of working and family-rearing age up to 44; those between 45 and 64; and those over 65. On account of the numbers of individual entries involved for Islay, ranging from a total of over 13,500 in 1841 to over 11,500 in 1891, only the years 1841, 1861 and 1891 were studied in their entirety with samples and regional totals abstracted for the other decades. Sample abstractions follow for a farm, a township and part of a village in Islay in 1841.

Household & Name	Ages of Males					Occupation	Place of birth if not local	Ages of Females				
	1	2	3	4	5			1	2	3	4	5

#### SUNDERLAND FARM

1. Carmont			1			Farm Overseer	England					1
	2	2							1			
2. McCormick			1			Blacksmith						1
	2											1
3. McCormick		3				Cotter		2	1	1		
4. McGilvray			1			Herd		2	1	1		
5. McGilvray			1			Manservant			1	1		
6. McFaggart			1			Farm Worker						1
			2			Ploughman		2				

## APPENDIX 7. THE CENSUS OF SCOTLAND UNPUBLISHED INDIVIDUAL ENUMERATION SCHEDULES AS A SOURCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND.

In Scotland, access can be obtained to certain unpublished copies of individual family returns or schedules, by permission of H.M. Registrar-General for Scotland. The earlier censuses of 1801 to 1831 are not available for reference. Nor are the more recent ones of the past fifty years, for reasons of individual privacy. But those of the intermediate years from 1841 to 1891 can be studied. This is in contrast to the Records of England and Wales for which so far, only the census of 1851 is available for scrutiny.

From the individual records of 1841 to 1891, many details can be gleaned of local changes in population distributions and settlement patterns consequent upon the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions; of rural depopulation from both Highland and Lowland Scotland; of the rise in non-agricultural and town population; of changes in occupational and age structures, and of population migration as illustrated by place of birth. Some of these serve to illuminate or elucidate the historical geography of areas such as Islay for which there does not exist a complete record of events, private or official. But throughout most of the estates considerable private estate material has been found to be extant for the first half of the nineteenth century along the western seaboard of Highland Scotland in the 1820's and 1840's, though less severe in Islay than in many parts, overpopulation of the land accompanied by fluctuating prices and yields of crops and stock saw the vast accumulation of arrears of rent until in the late forties the estates had to be sold when landlords became pressed beyond their financial limits. Many estates were broken up and sold in separate parts and this process has continued at an increasing pace in the succeeding century. Many estate documents relating to the second half of the century as well as some of the earlier ones referring to various parts of the disintegrated estate, have gone amissing during subsequent changes in occupancy or as a result of other hazards such as fire or water. In Islay, only for two of the larger estates which resulted, that of Islay Estates Limited, and the former Kildalton estate, do a few documents exist which relate to the period after 1850. But for the remaining parts of the island, the evidence of landholdings, population and settlement is even more scanty; in contrast to the remoter parts of the west Highlands and Islands for which plentiful recorded information can be found in reports of the mid and late-nineteenth century Enquiries and Royal Commissions, set up to investigate overpopulation, there was in Islay after the middle of the century comparatively little land overpopulation to warrant such investigations. Visitations and Commissioners were few in number and so the minute details of population and other problems which have been recorded for many areas in the western Highlands region do not exist for the island. Recourse to the Census of Scotland schedules for the years 1841 to 1891 has in many ways remedied this deficiency.

Just as at present, the format of the census schedule and the information to be recorded on it, differ slightly at each ten-year period, so in the earlier ones of the nineteenth century there were discrepancies. Moreover, terminology and classification of occupations were subjective to varying

Household & Name	Ages of Males					Occupation	Place of birth if not local	Ages of Females				
	1	2	3	4	5			1	2	3	4	5
CARNDUNCAN TOWNSHIP												
1. Ferguson		2	1			Cart-wrights		2			1	
2. McLean		1	1		1	Sailors				1		1
3. Ferguson					1	Weaver (wool)						1
4. Currie			1		1	Farmer		1	1	1		
5. Ferguson					1	Farmworker						1
6. Ferguson					1	Farmer				1		
7. Currie		2				Farmers		1	3	2		
8. Brown	1		1	1		Shoemakers			2		1	
9. McCaffer		1	1			Cooper (distillery)		-	-	-	-	-
10. McLean		1			1	Farmer			2	1	1	1
11. McLean		1	1			Farmworkers		-	-	-	-	-

PORT CHARLOTTE  
MAIN STREET

1. Martin				1		Boatbuilder					1	
	1	1							3			
2. Campbell				1		Tenant	Ireland				1	
	2		1			Excise officer		1			2	
3. McKeller			1			Surgeon					1	
4. Gillespie			1			Tenant		1		1		
5. Bell				1		Farm Worker				1		
	1	2	1						1			
6. Brown				1		Cartwright				1		
		1							2			
7. Bell		2	1			Mason				1		
								1		1		

Age groups	1.	0-4 years
	2.	5-14 "
	3.	15-44 "
	4.	45-64 "
	5.	65 and over.

APPENDIX 8. SUMMARIES OF POPULATION AND OCCUPATIONS IN  
ISLAY IN 1958, AND IN ARDNAMURCHAN-SUNART IN 1959,  
INCORPORATING THE RESULTS OF CENSUSES CONDUCTED  
BY THE WRITER IN 1958 and 1959.

## M A L E S

## Resident

Periodically  
away

## Permanently away

## AREA

0-4

5-14

15-44

45-64

65 and over

Students

National Service

Others 15-44

Others 45-64

Merchant Navy 15-44

Merchant Navy 45-64

Professional 15-44

Professional 45-64

Others 15-44

Others 45-64

## VILLAGES

Bownmore	23	44	113	66	35	4	3	1	-	1	-	2	-	10	-
P. Ellen	24	50	84	103	33	4	-	-	-	9	8	-	-	8	1
P. Charlotte	11	9	38	36	20	2	-	-	-	6	1	1	1	5	-
Bruichladdich	3	12	13	14	2	-	2	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-
P. Haven	1	5	11	12	8	-	-	-	1	11	4	-	-	-	1
P. Wemyss	1	2	2	3	15	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	-
Kiells	0	6	7	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Dallygrant	5	11	11	7	1*	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Laphroaig	0	7	5	7	3	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Lagavulin	2	6	4	12	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Ardbog	2	4	6	9	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Caolila	6	10	13	14	6	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Bunnahabain	7	8	10	12	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

Village total 85 174 317 299 132 13 7 1 1 43 14 3 1 29 2

## RURAL

Bownmore	7	16	81	83	35	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	7	-
Kilmeny	7	7	34	34	21	2	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	3	-
P. Haven	1	8	9	9	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
P. Charlotte	6	18	36	58	22	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-
P. Ellen	4	14	30	37	17	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-

Rural Total 25 63 190 221 104 2 2 - - 4 1 1 - 12 -

Island Total 110 237 507 520 236 15 9 1 1 47 15 4 1 41 2

A8 (11) . Populations of Village and Rural areas of ISLAY, 1958.

a. Males.

b. Females.

F E M A L E S																Populations of Village and Rural Areas in Islay, 1958 (writer's census using electoral registers as basis for inquiry).		
Resident					Periodically away		Permanently away											
0-4	5-14	15-44	45-64	65 and over	Students	Others 15-44	Others 45-64	Nursing 15-44	Nursing 45-64	Professional 15-44	Professional 45-64	Domestic Service 15-44	Domestic Service 45-64	Others 15-44	Others 45-64			
23	52	95	75	58	5	-	-	3	-	-	1	1	-	3	-	281	303	584
23	57	94	97	59	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	294	330	624
9	26	29	44	37	1	-	-	3	2	1	-	-	-	2	-	114	145	259
3	7	13	13	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44	39	83
-	7	10	13	16	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	37	46	83
1	4	4	4	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	23	23	46
1	-	5	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	14	36
5	3	12	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	35	26	61
1	6	7	9	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	28	50
3	7	8	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	30	54
3	3	11	9	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	22	26	48
3	6	11	9	7	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	49	36	85
2	7	11	9	5	2	-	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	40	34	74
77	185	310	301	207	12	-	-	12	4	1	1	7	-	12	1	1007	1080	2087
9	19	61	78	36	1	-	-	4	-	1	-	1	-	4	-	222	203	425
3	6	23	31	17	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	103	80	183
2	3	11	12	9	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	36	37	73
2	17	28	41	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	140	108	248
4	11	21	31	12	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	102	79	181
20	56	144	193	94	3	-	-	5	-	1	-	1	-	9	-	603	507	1110
97	241	454	494	301	15	-	-	17	4	2	1	8	-	21	1	1610	1587	3197



A 8 (iii)a.

Occupations of Males 15-44 (a) and 45-64 (b) years of age  
in Islay in 1958.

V I L L A G E S

	Bannock		Port Ellen		Port Charlotte		Port Wemyss		Port Mahaven		Brackish		Laddich		Kiells		Bally Grant		Caol Ila		Burns		Inchmahain		Leaphroaching		Lagevulin		Arribog		VILLAGES		TOTAL	
	a	b	a	b	a	b																												
Farmer	1	1	2	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	14		
Farmworker	7	1	6	7	7	1	-	3	2	-	-	1	-	4	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	1	2	3	-	-	-	36	19		
Crofter	3	-	2	2	2	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	7		
Distiller	14	15	13	21	2	4	-	-	-	-	5	8	1	1	1	1	11	11	10	12	2	4	3	10	3	9	65	96						
Creamery	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2		
Labourer	8	7	14	7	3	4	-	1	3	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	22			
Trades																																		
Crafts	31	9	9	17	1	8	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46	40		
Drovers	11	5	6	9	3	2	-	1	-	3	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	21		
Shopk.	4	6	6	7	-	3	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	17		
Bank	2	1	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	3		
Clerks	7	5	-	2	3	2	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	12		
Air Min.	5	7	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	7		
Post Off.	2	1	8	9	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	14		
H.B.B.	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	2		
Hotel	1	1	1	4	3	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	8		
Prof.	3	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	4		
HM/Fish	1	-	6	6	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	9		
RAF	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-		
L/No.	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4		
Nil	4	1	2	6	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	8		
TOTAL	113	66	84	103	37	36	2	3	11	12	13	14	7	4	11	7	12	14	10	12	5	7	4	12	6	9	317	299						

A 8 (iii) a. Occupations of MALES in Islay, 1958, in VILLAGES

RURAL AREAS												Total 15-44		45-64		Total 15-64
Downmore Rural	Kilmeny Rural	Port Charlotte	Port-Nashaven	Port Ellen	RURAL TOTAL											
13	27	11	10	8	22	3	6	16	12	51	77	56	81			137
45	43	14	13	20	22	3	-	11	14	93	92	129	111			240
-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2	2	1	4	5	12	12			24
4	-	-	3	-	2	1	-	-	4	5	9	70	105			175
				2	-					2	-	7	2			9
1	2	-	-	1	5	-	-	1	4	3	11	34	33			67
10	4	1	3	2	-	-	-	0	1	13	8	59	48			107
2	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	4	2	28	23			51
1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	15	17			32
2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	9	5			14
2	1	2	2	-	4	-	-	-	-	4	7	15	19			34
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	7			16
-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	14	16			30
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	2			9
-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	6	10			16
-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	8	5			13
-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	12	11			23
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-			1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4			8
1	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	3	12	11			23
81	83	34	34	36	57	9	8	30	39	190	221	507	520			1027

A 8 (iii) b. Occupations of MALES in Islay, 1958,  
in RURAL areas.

A 8 (iv) a.

OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALES 15-44 and 45-64 years of age in Islay in 1958

V I L L A G E S

	Bombora	Port	Ellen	Port	Starlotte	Port	Henryss	Port-	mhaven	Brauchichia-	Edich	Kiells	Belly-	Grant	Caol	Ille	Baura-	habbein	Leaphunig	Agavulin	Arthog	WILLAGE	TOTAL	
FARMER	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
FARMWORKER	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1
CROFTER	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
SHOPKEEPER	14	5	14	4	6	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	40	12	
DOMESTIC ETC.	9	2	6	11	1	2	-	2	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	23	17
PROFESSIONAL	2	4	4	-	3	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	11	7	
OTHERS	7	-	2	4	2	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	18	7	
	32	11	28	20	15	7	1	1	4	2	3	1	-	3	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	71	97	46

A 8 (iv) a. Occupations of females in Islay, 1958, in  
VILLAGE areas.

## RURAL AREAS

Bowmore	Rural	Kilmory	Port	Charlotte	Port-	nahaven	Port	Ellen	RURAL	TOTAL	Total 15-44	45-64	Total 45-64
-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	2
4	1	2	1	5	-	2	-	1	13	3	17	4	21
					0	1			-	1	1	2	3
4	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	2	-	7	47	14	61
12	5	3	4	3	1	-	-	2	19	12	42	29	71
1	-	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	4	15	10	25
6	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	2	9	3	27	10	37
27	6	8	8	11	3	3	3	5	52	25	149	71	220

A 8 (iv) b. Occupations of females in Islay, 1958,  
in RURAL areas.

## FEMALES

## Males

Ardnamurchan-Sunart  
West End  
Population 1959.

	Resident	Periodi- cally away	Permanent away	Resident	Periodic- ally away	Permanent away	Others 45-64	Others 15-44	Professional 45-64	Professional 15-44	Merchant Navy 15-44	Merchant Navy 45-64	Students	Others 15-44	Others 45-64	Others 15-44	Others 45-64	Professional 15-44	Professional 45-64	Domestic Service 15-44	Domestic Service 45-64	Others 15-44	Others 45-64
Stordle	0-4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ockle	5-14	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Kilmory	15-44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Brannalt	45-64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Colorne/Achaleny	0-4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Portuair	5-14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sanna	15-44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Achnaha	45-64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Grindale & L House	0-4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Achysvich	5-14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Unsaigbeg	15-44	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Orsaigmore	45-64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Kilchoan	0-4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Mingary	5-14	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
East of Mingary	15-44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	45-64	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
	0-4	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
	5-14	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25
	15-44	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46
	45-64	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26
	0-4	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
	5-14	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
	15-44	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25
	45-64	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46
	0-4	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26
	5-14	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
	15-44	124	124	124	124	124	124	124	124	124	124	124	124	124	124	124	124	124	124	124	124	124	124
	45-64	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	123
	0-4	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247

A 8 (v) a. Population of West end of Ardnamurchan and Sunart, 1959.

MALES												FEMALES												Ardnamurchan-Sunart Centre & E. End		Population 1959
Resident			Periodically away			Permanently away			Resident			Periodically away			Permanently away			Sunart Centre & E. End								
0-4	5-14	15-44	45-64	65 and over	Students	National Service	Others 15-44	Others 45-64	Merchant Navy 15-44	Merchant Navy 45-64	Professional 15-44	Professional 45-64	Others 15-44	Others 45-64	Nursing 15-44	Nursing 45-64	Professional 15-44	Professional 45-64	Domestic Service 15-44	Domestic Service 45-64	Others 15-44	Others 45-64				
Salen	1	2	7	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Acheracle	3	9	13	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Shielbridge	-	3	3	-	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Shielfoot	-	6	6	14	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Newton	1	5	4	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Kintira	1	5	3	6	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Ardoe	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Arivedgag	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
Rest E & W	-	2	7	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
	6	28	34	28	8	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Ardnastang	1	1	3	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Anabell	-	2	5	10	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Scotstown	-	4	5	5	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Strontian	-	2	7	7	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Rest	6	7	7	7	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
	7	16	27	33	14	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Total W End	7	19	26	46	26	6	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
C	6	28	34	49	28	8	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
E End	7	16	27	33	14	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
	20	63	87	128	68	18	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2				

Occupations of Males 15-44(a) and 45-64(b) years of age  
in Ardnamurchan-Sunart, 1959.

Ditto of Females

	West Salen- End Acheracle		East End		Total		West Salen- End Acheracle		East End		Total		Total	
	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b		
Farmer	1	2	1	2	4	5	6	9						
Farmworker	9	9	5	6	5	5	19	20						
Crofter	3	7	1	2	4	4	13	17					1	
Labourer	3	7	3	2	2	7	8	16						
Craftsmen		2	1				1	2						
Forestry			11	12	5	5	16	17					3	
MM/Fish	4	5	2	3			6	8						
Professional	1	2	1	-	-	1	2	3					8	
Shopkeeper	2	2	1	6	4	1	7	9					5	
Services	2	5	7	12	3	2	12	19					28	
Domestic													28	
Nil	1	5	1	4	4	3	6	12						
TOTAL	26	46	34	49	27	33	87	128	215	11	26	16	33	74

A 8 (vi). Occupations of males and females in the peninsula of  
Ardnamurchan and Sunart in 1959.